



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 6 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY -**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8**

**Section 5**

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

|   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| REPORTING OFFICE<br><b>CHARLOTTE</b>        | OFFICE OF ORIGIN<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> | DATE<br><b>7/31/70</b>                     | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD<br><b>7/13/70 - 7/27/70</b> |
| TITLE OF CASE<br><b>BLACK PANTHER PARTY</b> |  | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>SA [REDACTED]</b>     | TYPED BY<br><b>egp</b>                           |
|   |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>RACIAL MATTERS</b> |  |

### REFERENCES:

Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 7/7/70.

- P -

### ADMINISTRATIVE:

The investigative period of this report reflects only that time necessary for file review and preparation of this report.

Investigation at Raleigh, N.C., was conducted by SA [REDACTED]  
Investigation at Winston-Salem, N.C., was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

In view of the fact that information concerning Black Panther Party (BPP) newspaper sales, public rallies, speeches and other occurrences were furnished to the Bureau in detail in a form suitable for dissemination, they were not repeated in their entirety in this report.

|                          |                                |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| It has been              |                                | Pending over one year <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No; Pending prosecution over six months <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No |
| APPROVED<br><i>11</i>    | <i>7/31</i>                    | SPECIAL AGENT<br>IN CHARGE   |
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|                          |                                | 25 AUG 3 1970  |
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2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

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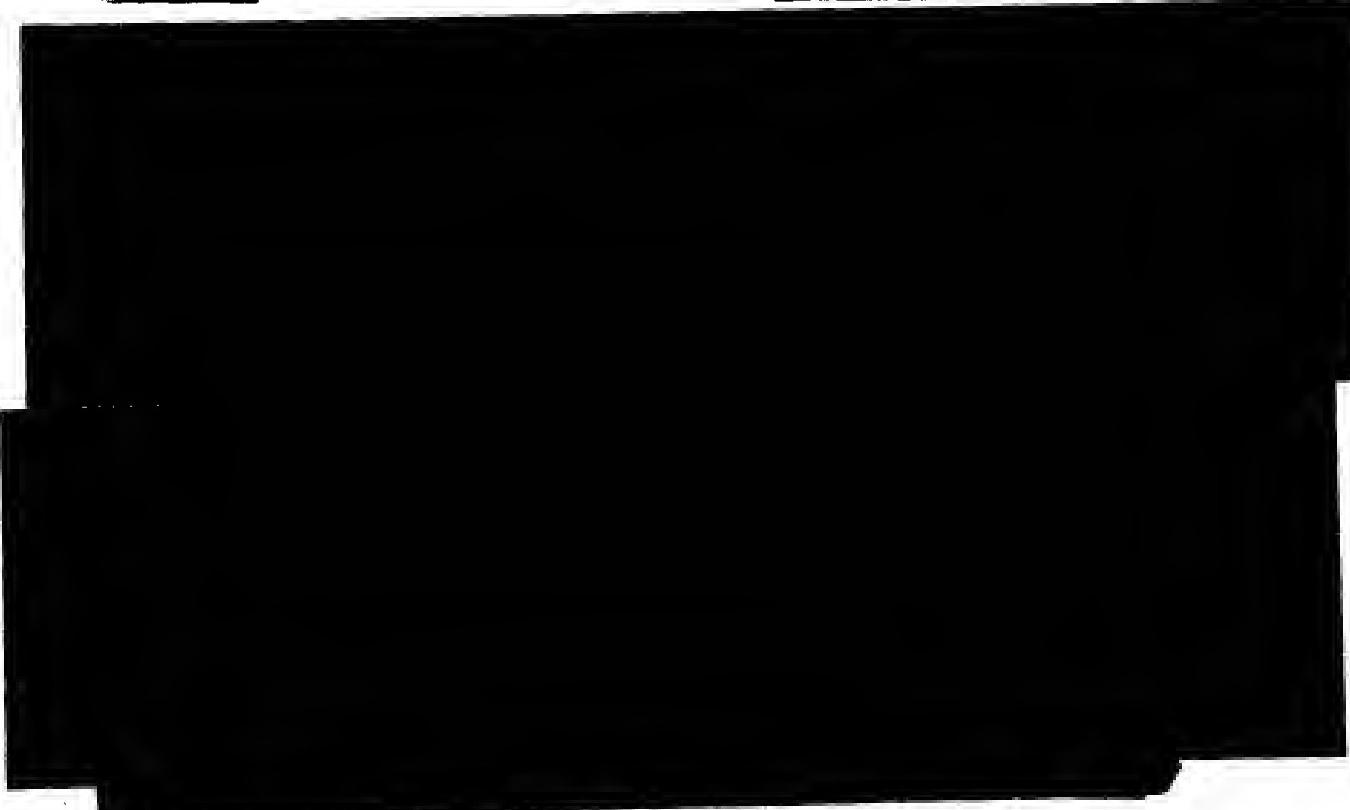
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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**Report of:** SA [REDACTED]

**Date:** JULY 31, 1970 **Office:** CHARLOTTE

**Field Office File #:** 157-6171

**Bureau File #:** 105-165706 Sub 8

**Title:** BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS

**Synopsis:**

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) is located at 1602 E. 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N.C., and is recognized by the Black Panther Party (BPP) as an affiliated group. They are regularly in receipt of BPP newspapers and other literature which is sold to the public. Articles by members of the group regularly appear in the BPP newspaper and are critical of local law enforcement, housing and other conditions at Winston-Salem, N.C. Sources reported the group is preparing for a revolution which will come on orders from California. BPP members from other areas, including national leaders have traveled to Winston-Salem, N.C., and Panthers from Winston-Salem, N.C., have traveled to other areas.

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Group 1  
**EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
 DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION**

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DETAILS:

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this report.

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I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

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**A. LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS AND PADS**

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On February [REDACTED] reported that the group known as the National Committee for Combat Fascism (NCCF), Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was a recognized BPP affiliated group and [REDACTED] reported that their headquarters was located at 1210 East Fifth Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, with a pad at Apartment N, Colony Apartments, 940 Cleveland Avenue.

During [REDACTED] reported that the group cleaned up a house at 1602 East 14th Street, which is on the corner of 14th and Jackson Avenues which is to be their new headquarters.

On [REDACTED] reported that the group continues to use 1602 East 14th Street as a headquarters with some of the full-time members residing in the headquarters, noting someone is present 24 hours each day.

On July 8, 1970, a Special Agent of the FBI observed officers of the Forsyth County Sheriff's Office evicting the occupants of 940 Cleveland Avenue, Apartment N.

On [REDACTED] reported that the apartment of WILLIAM RICE, 940 Cleveland Avenue, Apartment H, was used as a pad. [REDACTED] noted also that there has been discussion of [REDACTED]

The Black Panther, official newspaper of the BPP, in its issue of Saturday, June 27, 1970, page 22, had a "list of recognized chapters and branches and NCCF of the BPP" which includes Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as 1602 East 14th Street, Telephone 919-722-4097.

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**B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP**

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Based on information from [REDACTED]  
as furnished during June, 1970, and July, 1970, the following  
information was obtained:

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**1. OFFICERS AND LEADERS**

**CENTRAL STAFF**

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant and actual leader of the entire group.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE, Lieutenant in Charge of BPP newspaper distribution.

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR., Field Lieutenant.

THERESA THOMAS, also known as "Slack" Thomas, Lieutenant in Charge of Finance.

DAVID BOWMAN appears to be Officer of the Day and in Charge of Children's Liberation School.

JULIUS CORNELL as of July 17, 1970, had the title of Captain of Defense in Charge of Panthers in Training subservant to LARRY LITTLE.

[REDACTED]

1970, RICE had quit coming around the BPP headquarters and [REDACTED] was of the opinion he had dropped out due to his dissatisfaction with LARRY LITTLE and the fact he had been put on restriction.

[REDACTED] noted that DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA is not around Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at the present time and that KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS has been transferred out of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, but her location is known only to the higher leaders.

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**2. MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS, DUTIES AND TRAINING**

The membership, limited to Negroes, consists of approximately 15 individuals, as of [REDACTED] according to [REDACTED]. On occasion there will appear to be more individuals, but these are just people from the community in the area of the BPP headquarters who sell papers for the Panthers.

Members are divided into two groups, one of which is full-time workers and the other is community workers or part-time workers. Full-time workers usually live at the Panther headquarters and are supported by the Panther group having no other employment. They work with the breakfast program, liberation school and sell Panther newspapers and pamphlets. These individuals who are considered full-time members are required to sell \$12.50 worth of newspapers per week. All of this money is returned to the Officer of the Day or individual who sits at the front desk of the BPP headquarters and this individual gives the money back to the full-time members as it is needed. Part-time members usually have a job or other source of income and they contribute to the group, although there are no required dues.

Members are required to come by the BPP headquarters each day and the leadership request they do not use drugs or alcohol as this would impair their effectiveness in the event the orders come down from California to start a revolution.

On [REDACTED] reported that in connection with articles appearing in the BPP newspapers, these are written by members of the Panther group only and not by Panthers in Training which is the title given to individuals prior to the time they have obtained proper instructions in the BPP platform and programs.

It is noted that the names of members and active workers will be set forth in other sections of this report as information pertaining to them is set forth.

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3. TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP

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On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE was coming to California from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and was to confer with the BPP leaders at Berkeley. The purpose of the trip was not stated.

On May 11, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that LARRY DORHELL LITTLE, Lieutenant in the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, departed by plane, 2 P.M., May 10, 1970, en route to San Francisco, California.

On May 13, 1970, LA T-40 reported that an individual at Los Angeles advised that a male at Los Angeles was to travel to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that date. Subsequently on [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE was returning to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on May 14, 1970, and was bringing with him four boxes of excess luggage containing the current issue of the BPP newspaper which is dated May 19, 1970.

On May 18, 1970, LA T-40 reported that ELMER PRATT, Deputy Minister of Defense of the BPP, was at that time in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and money was to be sent to PRATT via Western Union under the name of WILLIAM RICE, 1602 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for his plane fare back to the West Coast.

On [REDACTED] reported that "GERONIMO" was at the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP headquarters during the week of May 18, 1970, and was identified as Deputy Minister of Defense for California.

"GERONIMO" has been identified in an issue of the BPP newspaper as ELMER PRATT, Deputy Minister of Defense for southern California.

[REDACTED] also noted that WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE and NELSON MALLEY were talking about a trip to California to visit National Headquarters but no plans were actually made.

On [REDACTED] reported that ROBERT BEY (East Coast Field Marshall) and BRAD BREWER, a BPP member, were to travel to North Carolina and possibly return the same day.

On [REDACTED] reported that due to changes at New Haven, Connecticut, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, former Area

Captain for New Haven, Connecticut, has been transferred to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and on May 25, 1970, SF T-22 reported that MIRANDA reportedly was transferred for disciplinary reasons from New Haven, Connecticut. He had arrived and according to information available to SF T-22 was functioning at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that MIRANDA was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and "realized mistakes he had been making in New Haven."

On June 4, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that KATHY THOMAS, described as a Negro female, reportedly graduated from University of Los Angeles, was en route by airplane to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and departed Jersey City, New Jersey, June 3, 1970, accompanied by [REDACTED] a Marine Corps deserter.

[REDACTED] subsequently identified KATHY THOMAS as being identical with KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS, who they called the "girl from Oakland."

It is noted that on July 8, 1970, [REDACTED] was arrested by Special Agents of the FBI at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that DOUGLAS MIRANDA was returning to New Haven, Connecticut.

On [REDACTED] reported that HOWARD CLAYTON MOORE, a member of the NCCF at Richmond, Virginia, had traveled to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in the recent past to attend a NCCF conference but was not admitted as no one could vouch for him as a member.

On [REDACTED] reported that JUNE HILLIARD (Assistant Chief of Staff of the BPP) was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, but departed June 11, 1970.

On [REDACTED] reported that HILLIARD had been at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, but was returned to California on June 12, 1970, accompanied by EDDIE GRIFFIN, a San Francisco, California, BPP member.

On [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] described by [REDACTED] as a San Francisco BPP member

recently assigned to perform various duties in the Eastern United States indicated that she is presently assigned to the NCCF, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On June 30, 1970, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA was observed at Superior Court, New Haven, Connecticut, during the selection of jurors for the trial of [REDACTED] one of a group at New Haven accused of the murder of a BPP member.

On [REDACTED] reported that KATHY HARRIS recently working in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was at that time in Chicago, Illinois, reason unknown.

On [REDACTED] reported that RAYMOND HEWITT, Minister of Education of the BPP, was at that time in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that reservations had been obtained for Mr. HEWITT and Mr. JOHNSON on Eastern Airlines for a flight to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on the evening of July 8, 1970.

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] at approximately 4 P.M., five Negro males, one of whom was RAYMOND HEWITT, arrived at BPP headquarters, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This group of individuals appeared to be together as they were shown through the headquarters by JULIUS CORNELL and all were accorded approximately the same degree of deference. One of the individuals mentioned, other than HEWITT, was a Negro male, approximately 23, five feet nine inches to six feet, 165 pounds, medium size, afro haircut, with a gold ring on his left hand.

On July 10, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that the purpose of HEWITT's trip to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was to inspect operations of the NCCF Office and returning to New York over the coming weekend.

[REDACTED] it was determined that when HEWITT was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, it was some type of inspection tour possibly concerning the recent ousting of some of the former leadership in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. HEWITT apparently mentioned that HUEY P. NEWTON would be out on bond within a short time and would visit each BPP unit personally including Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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4. PURGED OR DISMISSED MEMBERS

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES FORD, a member of the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had been accused of being an informant for the "pigs" and had left Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On July 7, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that JAMES FORD was noted selling Panther newspapers at the Northside Shopping Center at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and it appears he is back from some type of restriction.

On [REDACTED] reported that ROBERT TAYLOR GREER, Area Captain of the BPP, had had an argument with some of the members of the BPP headquarters, 1602 East 14th Street, on [REDACTED]

Apparently GREER had been told by other Panthers, not identified, that he would have to quit his job and become full time Captain of Defense or else get out of BPP. GREER wanted to know how he would pay his bills and they stated they would pay his bills for him.

GREER indicated to the group that inasmuch as they were broke, charging food for the breakfast program, apparently unable to pay the rent and having a very few donations coming in, he would just pull out of the group. JACKIE PEOPLES, JESSE STITT and a few other members left with him.

[REDACTED] In addition, he reported that LARRY LITTLE wanted to run things more like California and GREER allegedly stated that California (meaning BPP headquarters) could go to hell as they did not have the same problems as Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The members identified as dropping out [REDACTED] were as follows:

ROBERT TAYLOR GREER

JESSE STITT

JACKIE PEOPLES

FEY / SWEITZER

DAVID / BLAIR

There were a number of other minor figures [REDACTED] who dropped out.

On [REDACTED] reported that several of the former BPP members were talking about the fact that LARRY LITTLE as the new leadership was considered a "rabid fool." He had started everyone on three hours of physical training, two hours of class where they read the BPP newspaper and other literature and then three hours of work in the BPP headquarters without a shower, dinner or time to rest. From the conversation, it was indicated that other people were dropping out due to their being unhappy over LITTLE's leadership and the current membership was down to LARRY LITTLE, WILLIAM R. RICE, DAVID BOWMAN, NELSON MALLOY, THERESA THOMAS, NANCY WITHERSPOON and one or two fledgling Panthers [REDACTED]

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C. PUBLICATIONS

During the period, January, 1970, to July, 1970, SF T-16 and T-22 reported that the Winston-Salem, North Carolina NCCF were in regular receipt of the BPP newspaper. There were some complaints of papers being delayed, ruined by water, etc., but they received from 600 to 3,000 papers during this period.

Distribution at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was initially handled by LARRY LITTLE, however, it was subsequently turned over to NELSON MALLOY then WILLIAM RICE. There were difficulties in getting together the money for payment to the BPP headquarters for the papers and other pamphlets and posters ordered and at one time during May, 1970, the group was considered to be two weeks behind.

On [redacted] reported that in addition to the paper sales at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on July 6, 1970,

[redacted] to sell BPP newspapers.

[redacted] reported that each BPP member must sell 50 papers per week and on that day approximately 17 individuals were observed selling newspapers both in downtown Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and at the Northside Shopping Center. LARRY LITTLE, DAVID CATO, BOBBY STOVER and EDWARD MC QUEEN were all selling the papers at the Northside Shopping Center. [redacted] also noted that McMillan's Minute Market, a store on Liberty Street believed to be Mooney's Drug Store, and the Barber Shop next to Harriston Drugs were also selling the papers.

[redacted] reported that publications and literature [redacted] included Page 21 of the June 13, 1970, issue of the BPP newspaper, which is a full page announcement of the BPP rally which was held at Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1970. Page 11 to Page 14 of the June 13, 1970, issue of the paper is a statement by HUEY P. NEWTON concerning the rally and a reprint of Page 11-16 of the June 20, 1970, issue of BPP rally held June 19, 1970, and a statement concerning the rally.

Also available is a reprint of the January 3, 1970, BPP newspaper, of which Page 6 is an article concerning "Black Soldiers as Revolutionaries to Overthrow the Ruling Class" by BOBBY SEALE, BPP chairman.

On July 7, 1970, [redacted] made available the following brochure entitled "Organizing Self-Defense Groups" which is as follows:

# SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS

## PART I

In organizing self - defense groups at this stage of the struggle the most important consideration is whether or not the person to be incorporated into the group understands fully that what he or she is doing is the right thing to do. At this stage of the struggle if any members of a self-defense group are weak minded or do not understand that the only way to put an end to brutality & murder by this racist power structure is to organize self-defense groups & counter-attack, practice has shown that if this weak minded person is ever captured he or she will certainly not be able to withstand the methods of persuasion used by the fascist pigs and they will talk, give up information. So the first priority for any self-defense group is to be armed ideologically.

Because of the consequences if anything goes wrong during an operation, members within the group must maintain a face to face relationship, get to know each others strengths and weaknesses thoroughly, and participate fully in the planning of operations. Liberalism at this level can cost the lives of comrades and/or jeopardize the success of an operation.

At this time self-defense groups should have no more than four to six members. The struggle at this time requires no operation that can't be handled by four to six people. Also security is sacrificed the larger the group. At this time self-defense groups should be formed all across Babylon, North, South, East and West. However, at this time groups must work autonomously. Under no circumstances should any group seek out and try to make contact with another group. Due to the fact that this level of struggle is in its embryonic stages and fools, agents and provocateurs are scattered all across Babylon if autonomy is maintained when a member of a group is captured he or she will only be able to give up information on one group, their own.

Know the enemy. At this time the pigs have three things going for them:

1. Communication
  2. Mobility
  3. Information
- C.M.I.

When planning any operation the pigs' C.M.I. must be taken into account when planning tac-

.38

revolver, in reality this is not very practical and shouldn't even be attempted unless you are an expert's expert. From seeing too much Watt Karp and Alai Dillon, too many people think that if they have a hand gun either pistol or revolver that they are ready for anything. All that is necessary is to give you a different perspective is to examine the armament of the pigs that occupy our Black communities anywhere in Babylon. When you do that you will discover that most pig ears have at least one .12 gauge pump or automatic shotgun, one or two semi-automatic or automatic assault rifles, one or two bolt-action rifles with a scope mounted for sniping purposes, and, of course, the pigs have strapped on at least one handgun either an automatic pistol or a revolver. In San Francisco, the S.F. Tactical Squad members carry two handguns, their standard service revolver plus a second handgun which is their personal preference, in many cases an automatic pistol. So at this time let's examine these three types of weapons-the shotgun, the rifle and the handgun.

.12 GAUGE SHOTGUN: the pigs use the shotgun, either pump or semi-automatic, loaded with 00 buckshot generally in crowd situations such as rebellions. The standard load is nine (9) buckshot pellets per shell, however there is the magnum load of 12 pellets per shell. These magnum loads are to be used only in magnum shotguns. If you use magnum loads in a regular shotgun, you might not live to tell it.

## FIELD MARSHAL D.C.

Due to the brainwashing done by TV, movies, comics etc., there are a lot of incorrect ideas about firearms that must be cleared up. The first thing to understand is, there is no one piece (gun) that covers any and all situations. Although they show pigs' on TV and in the movies, killing people a block away with a snub-nose .38

# DEATH TO THE PIGS!

CONNECTICUT STATE  
CHAPTER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
35 SYLVAN AVENUE  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.  
(203) 562-7463

COUNTER-ATTACK  
D.C.

The pigs also use slugs, 1 pound lead ball. In the plans they believe if pig Dept. had drawn up to attack National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party, they intended to use slugs to knock the amber plate off of our windows and to knock out the doors.



### M-14

There is also a tear gas shell now designed to be fired from a .12 gauge shotgun.

Every Black home should have at least one .12 gauge shotgun to be used to protect the door. Use 00 buckshot and it will deal with any criminals trying to enter uninvited. Cuban guerrillas used shotguns very successfully in the revolutionary war led by Fidel Castro. They would set up ambushes close to roads usually only a few feet away and shotguns loaded with 00 buck would have a devastating effect upon the occupants of cars and/or trucks.

There is one thing about shotguns that possibly can be viewed as in our favor at this time that is that the barrel is smooth inside so it doesn't put any marks on the pellets; therefore, the pigs can't make an investigation based on ballistic marks.

**The RIFLE:** The bolt-action rifle in .30-06 or .308 (7.62 MM Nato) with a four (4) power scope (or better) mounted is a sniping

gun. Another very good assault rifle is the M-14 caliber .7.62MM Nato (.308 in English). This is a very good weapon although it has been replaced by the M-16. M-16 in the fascist military. Most national guard units, at least here in California, are equipped with the M-14. Check your local National Guard availability.

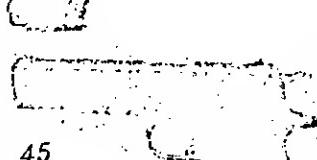
.357 Magnum, 1 pound, 7.62MM pistol, are semi-automatics, they really are semi-automatic. The trigger has to be pressed for

them to fire. They do have to load 2 magazines and you've got two more left.

.45 Auto. The pistol that is the sidearm issue to the fascist military troops. This can be purchased in stores. It also seems to be a lot of it available in the streets, as with your local street merchant.

Even if you have the finest defense weapons they are useless than clubs if you don't know how to use them. By the same token, if you practice, it is possible get good enough to kill elephant with a .22. However with some practice with the above mentioned weapons and being armed "decidedly with the invincible them of the Black Panther Party, it is possible like the Panthers were attacked in Los Angeles December to be a match for a hundred

### 45



### 9MM



## PART-3

## TRAINING

When planning any operation, the pigs' C.I.A. must be taken into consideration in planning tactics.

Practice - Practice - Practice - Practice - Practice - Practice -

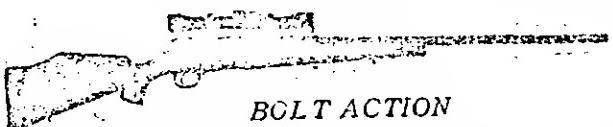
In order to perform well in your work on all levels it is necessary to practice, the more you practice the better you perform. Don't think just because you read something you can do it. You can memorize a book on how to drive a car but until you get behind a wheel and practice you still can't drive.

The first things to understand before you ever put a round of ammo in a chamber are basic safety rules. 99% of all accidental shootings happen with guns that aren't "loaded" and/or by people that say "I'm sorry, I didn't know it was loaded." Therefore, rule #1 is the first thing you do when you pick up a weapon is check to see if it is loaded, keep your finger off the trigger and follow the following procedure. Point gun away from area where someone could possibly be shot. If it is a revolver swing out the cylinder. If it is a pistol remove the magazine and pull back the slide. Even after you have unloaded the gun or see that it is unloaded treat the

gun in the manner as if it were still loaded. Never touch the trigger unless you are practicing trigger squeeze (explained later), firing on training gear or dealing with the enemy. Never point a gun at anyone you do intend to shoot. I can't stress these points enough, they seem simple enough, however, most that generally haven't had any experience with pieces violate these rules constantly. If I am ever shot accidentally by some idiot, it will be very difficult to suppress the desire to blow his or her head off, providing I'm ok/wounded.

The next step is to learn to disassemble and assemble your pieces, also care and maintenance. Due to the fact that self-defense activity will not be limited to daylight hours you should learn to break your piece down and assemble it even in the dark. This depends on it. So do it.

After you've gotten this down the next step is to learn how to aim and fire your weapons properly. All of this is to be done before you ever put your first round of ammo in the chamber, the first thing to deal with

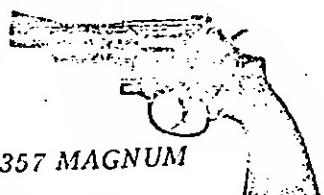


### BOLT ACTION

weapon. A specialist piece. This virulent (deadly) combination is for one purpose, and one purpose only-to fire ONE well placed shot. So each self-defense unit needs only one such weapon at this time. There is nothing else to say about that.

The assault rifle is either semi-automatic or preferable one that can be fired either semi-automatic or fully automatic. The limit here is that posed by the limit of the enemy's arsenal. Here we will discuss the most common seen in our communities carried by the gestapo pig forces. The AR-15 caliber .223 is the semi-automatic civilian model called "sporting" model of the M-16 used in Vietnam. The M-16 fires either semi-auto or fully auto. After the lives of many brothers were lost in Vietnam because the weapon was new and untested, it has now been

**HANDGUNS:** There are two types, semi-automatic pistols and revolvers. There are so many different brands and calibers, I will only deal with what I consider to be the best choices.



### .357 MAGNUM

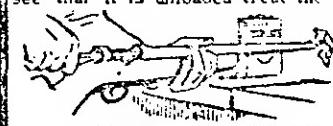
.357 Magnum revolver made by either Colt or Smith & Wesson. It holds six shots and with armor piercing ammo is supposed to crack an engine block. Many big departments have switched or are switching from .38 Special to .357.



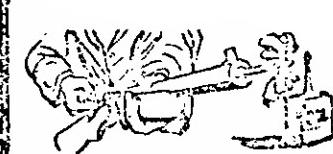
### M-16

C-logged and is fairly reliable. It can be found on all military bases and some vestige police departments. It never was seen on the public market and has been replaced by the AR-15 caliber .223. The AR-15 does not answer to us as does the M-16. However, many of the parts are the same.

magnum. The less powerful .38 special just can't match the .357. There was an incident where a brother was defending himself against a pig and fired at the pig with a .38 special. The bullet hit the pig, but the pig was deflected. Had he been able to reload, he may have had his chance.



CLEAN BARREL AND METAL PARTS WITH GOOD COMMERCIAL SOLVENT



BUN OILY PATCH THROUGH BARREL



DOE SHOULD BE CLEANED THROUGH BRECH END WHERE POSSIBLE



ALL METAL PARTS SHOULD GET LIGHT COAT OF OIL



STORE IN HORIZONTAL POSITION



I will begin by pointing out that we must not allow the racist-power structure to define our struggle. What I mean is, the language so that we use like everything else in this society is in the service of the racist capitalist hierarchy. They control the educational institutions, the news media and the means of production to turn out all the educational material. We sometimes are trapped by the rhetoric (words) of the slave-master. In our 400 year struggle for survival it has been the guns and force manifested in the racist pig cops that occupy our communities that directly oppress, repress, brutalize and murder us. So for us to talk about survival we must talk about self-defense against this brutality and murder that is defined by the racist power structure as justifiable homicide. So when a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self defense. The slave-master, however, through his lackeys and puppets calls it 'terrorism', the work of crazed men, criminals, insane killers etc.. We must define our struggle not the pigs. Carlos Marighella, an urban guerrilla in Brazil who was assassinated Nov. 4th 1969 just one month before Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, says, "the accusation of assault or terrorism no longer has the pejorative (negative) meaning it used to have. It has acquired new clothing, a new coloration. It does not factionalize, it does not discredit on the contrary it represents the best in democracy."

proper sight alignment. Sight alignment is lining up your front sight with your rear sight correctly. Your front sight lined up with your rear sight and both lined up on the target is called the "sight picture". The correct sight picture basically is having the front sight too high or too low, not to the right or to the left, but having the target resting on top of the front sight. The sight picture will not always appear perfect, but if the correct sight picture is understood practice will bring improvement.

The next thing to get down with is trigger squeeze. That's right you squeeze the trigger, you don't pull it or jerk it, contrary to what ever you saw on t.v., trigger squeeze is a process of putting slow steady pressure on the trigger until a shot goes off. If you try to anticipate the shot, you will jerk and mess up your aim.

One other thing to watch for is movement of your piece which comes from breathing, which also messes up your aim. One method of breath control is to take a deep breath, let out half of it, hold the rest of it then begin your trigger squeeze.

It would be ideal if you could incorporate into your group a veteran of the pigs' military service. Veterans are of great value and assistance in helping with the above training also when you are ready to begin practice with live ammunition. When practicing with live ammo make sure your location is where you won't be hassled by pigs. Actual combat conditions can be deadly as a training ground. When practicing with live ammo, remember it is valuable. Don't just start popping caps for the heck of it; the whole purpose is to prepare yourself to be "a Match for One Hundred" which will only come about as a result of correct practice.

One thing to guard against is flinching. Flinching is caused by being intimidated by the sound and kick of your weapon. With proper target discipline and breath control, you won't have any problems with flinching. If you have problems keeping all your shots in a fairly small group or if you have a problem just getting your shots on the target anywhere you are probably flinching. Have someone watch you as you fire and they will be able to tell you whether or not you are flinching.

The basic thing in the training of members of a self defense group is to know how to handle the various types of hand arms, i.e., fist, fist arm, knife, etc. The use of different types of weapons is explored through

FOREST GROVE, OREGON 97113 U.S.

Japanese Infantry Weapons  
 German Infantry Weapons  
 U.S. .30 Carbines, M1, M1A1, MC and M3  
 U.S. Carbine Rifles M1, M1C, M1D  
 U.S. Springfield Rifles M1903, M1903A1, M1903A3, M1  
 U.S. Rifle 7.62mm M-14  
 U.S. .45 Pistols and Revolvers  
 Machineguns and Gunnery for Machineguns (U.S.)  
 Mortars and Mortar Gunnery (U.S.)  
 The Lewis Light Machinegun  
 The Browning Hi-Power Pistols  
 The Parabellum ("Luger") Pistol  
 The Thompson Sub-Machineguns  
 Use and Installation of Boobytraps  
 Guerilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations  
 Operations Against Irregular Forces  
 Guerilla Warfare: A Method (Che Guevara) and Spec  
     (Nguyen Van Hieu)  
 Leader's Guide for Operations in Southeast Asia  
 Colt .223 AR-15 Semi and Fully Automatic Rifles (M-16)  
 U.S. Shotguns, All Types  
 M1917 "Enfield" Rifle  
 Ranger Training  
 Evacuation and Escape  
 Hand to Hand Combat  
 Explosives and Demolitions

blows against the slavemaster until we have secured our survival as a people and if this takes shooting every pig and blowing up every pig city then let's get on up.

Below are some recipes that might help some of you get started.

## **SELF IGNITING**

## MOLOTOV COCKTAIL

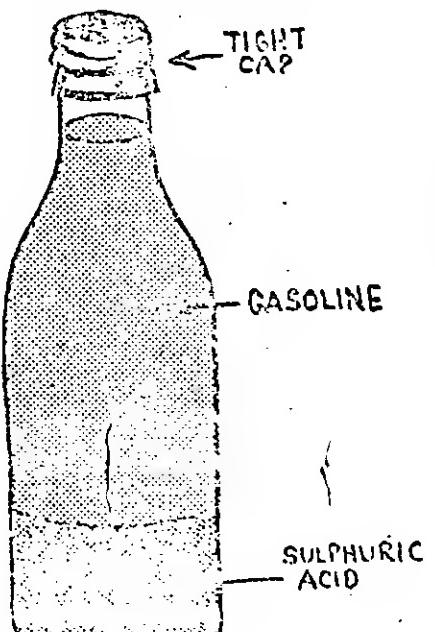
CAUTION: POTASSIUM CHLORATE IS VERY VOLATILE. IT CAN IGNITE ALMOST SPONTANEOUSLY IN THIS MIXTURE. IT

CAN BE IGNITED OR DETONATED BY A SINGLE SPARK  
EXCESSIVE HEAT OR MEAT  
BY THE FRICTION OF STEEL  
THE INGREDIENTS TOGETHER  
SO USE PLASTIC OR WOOD  
UTENSILS FOR MIXING  
DO NOT USE METAL  
USE EXTREME CAUTION

Mix 3 parts of potassium chlorate with 2 parts of sulfur. Add water to make a salve. Take a large sock, soak in the mixture then dry. Keep dry away from heat.

Away from the area or after you have thoroughly cleaned the area where you handled the above mixture take a fifth wine bottle and fill 1/5 to 1/4 full of sulphuric acid. Fill the rest of the way with gasoline. Pour the gas slowly. It could bubble and heat up. Cap the bottle tightly. Make sure it doesn't leak you should test first with water. To cap the bottle it is preferable to use a stopper with a rubber blunger because acid eats plastic and metal. Don't hold the bottle held it upright. When ready to use, put the bottle in the sock soaked in the chlorate-sugar mix and knot the sock at the top. Throw at target. When it hits and the glass breaks it will explode as the sulphuric acid contacts the potassium chlorate and sugar mixture on the rock. The gasoline will spread and flare. The principal behind this fire bomb is when sulphuric acid comes into contact with a mixture of potassium chlorate and sugar there is an explosion that gives off a lot of heat. The more potassium chlorate there is the more explosive, the more explosive, the more heat. For your information, this fire bomb will work even if the mixture or the sack is wet, however, it is more volatile when dry.

One more word. The last page  
of the article which I sent you  
yesterday, I have written on it  
the following note: "I am sending  
you a copy of the new edition  
of the book which I have just  
published."



**DO NOT SHAKE  
HOLD BOTTLE UPRIGHT**

1991.5.10.05.0000000

Take a (water) pipe about 20" in diameter and 11" long with caps to screw on at ends. Screw end caps on and then put wadding in the bottom. (Wadding can consist of cardboard, rubber, or toilet tissue) for lighter packing and prevent loading out. Put in about one inch of shot or scrap metal, then put tube with BLACK POWDER packed in it and put fuse into pipe taped at ends, from your shot or scrap metal between tube and pipe wall (as shown in drawing.) leave about one inch space at top of pipe for top wadding (don't put wadding tightly around fuse) Put top pipe cap on and tighten. Then bend to side of pipe and tape to keep it from being pulled out.

This handgrenade should be tested by using a small amount of ingredients, then taken out away from people so the person using it could test his work before moving on his or her objective.

will normally move outward in all directions or could have some directional pattern, depending upon the placement of the container.

USE WHAT YOU GOT TO GET  
WHAT YOU NEED, DO WHAT YOU  
CAN TO HELP.

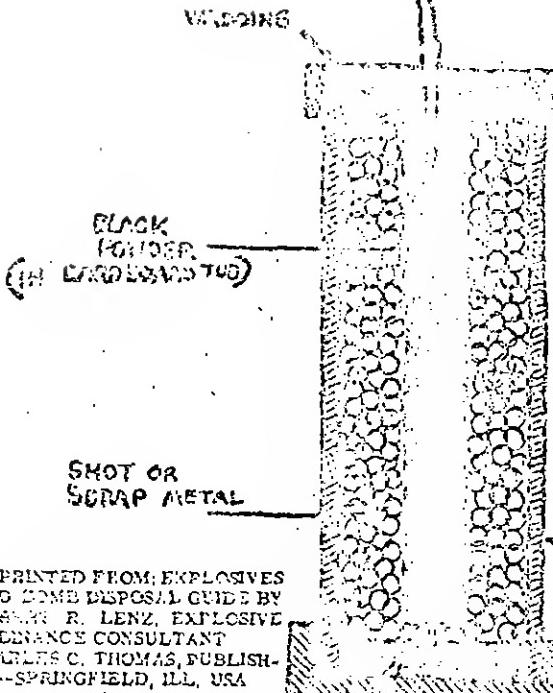
## Part 5 **HOW TO COMBAT C.M.L.**

The principal of Juche (Self-Reliance) clarified by Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, is "Use what you got to get what you need." To answer the question of how do you combat the pigs' C.I.I. (communication, mobility and information), we must first determine what we have going for ourselves. Checking out the prac-

## Part 6 ON REVOLVERS

## **SAFETY PRECAUTIONS:**

1. Check to see if gun is loaded. You do this on a revolver by swinging out the cylinder. Pull back on the cylinder latch and gently push out on the cylinder.
  2. Keep your finger off the trigger until practicing trigger squeeze or firing.
  3. Point your gun away from where someone may be shot. Point it to the ceiling or to the floor, but make sure you point, make sure no one is in the way and can be injured.
  4. When loading the gun, always hold the gun with both hands, one on the barrel and one on the grip.



REPRINTED FROM: EXPLOSIVES  
AND DODGE DISPOSAL GUIDE BY  
ROBERT R. LENZ, EXPLOSIVE  
ORDNANCE CONSULTANT  
CHARLES C. THOMAS, PUBLISH-  
ER--SPRINGFIELD, ILL. USA

WADDESS

ce of self-defense groups, we see that we have the power to determine what is to happen, when it is to happen and how it is supposed to go down. What, When and How (W,W,H) is the element of surprise. The pigs have C,N,I, and self-defense groups have W, W, B.

To consider a self-defense operation successful is not to just plan and execute but to plan, execute AND escape. There have been too many instances where members of self-defense groups have planned and executed righteous blows against this racist system only to be captured, wounded or killed. These are the consequences for revolutionary activity, however we must keep casualties within an acceptable minimum. The

slogan must be Maximum Damage to the Enemy, Minimum Damage to Us. Practice has shown that when planning W.W.H. if it is done with knowledge and understanding of C.M.I., casualties will be kept within an acceptable minimum. Too often, much attention is given to a plan up to the point of execution without giving the same attention to evasion and escape, that phase of the operation that determines success. This is a subjective approach, a onesided approach. W.W.H. is only one side of the coin, C.M.I. is the other side. Because self-defense groups use W.W.H., the pigs' C.M.I. does not go into operation until a self-defense group commits itself by actually executing some type of self-defense activity.

All of us should be aware once C.M.I. is activated pigs will be showing on the set from 30 seconds to 1 minute maximum in every major city in Babylon. Therefore the success or failure of a defense operation is dependent upon the attention given to C.M.I. and the planning of evasion and escape. As I see it, learning to deal with the pigs' C.M.I. is the number one military problem facing revolutionary forces in Babylon too. It is time for all wise have something to teach, by example, to stand forward. And remember, to do honorably, one does not need company.



## KINDS OF REVOLVERS.

.38 Snubnose - This gun has only a 2" barrel and shoots .38's. It is very easy to conceal.

'38 Special - has a 4" barrel  
and shoots .38's.

.357 Magnum - This is the type of handgun the pro carries. The ammo for this is .357 magnum. Metal piercing rounds will pierce an engine block. This is the best type of revolver to have.

.41 and .44 magnum - have more knock down power than a .357 magnum. The big way Patrocarries these to run through car doors, but a .357 will go through a car door also and .357 ammunition is much cheaper.

CHINESE MUSEUMS

der latch with right hand. (#3) Push out cylinder with the fingers of left hand. Now that you have swung out the cylinder and the bullets are visible you gently push down on the extractor and let bullets drop out into your right hand.

Locks back. You gun is ready to fire, do not put your finger in the trigger until you are ready to fire! After cocking hammer, place your thumb directly on the frame beside the hammer, resting the tip of your thumb on the cylinder latch.

## LOADING:

To load, simply follow the same steps in unlatching the cylinder, then drop pellets into the chambers of your cylinder. Gently push cylinder closed, and you are ready to fire. DO NOT SLAM CYLINDER CLOSED, this causes

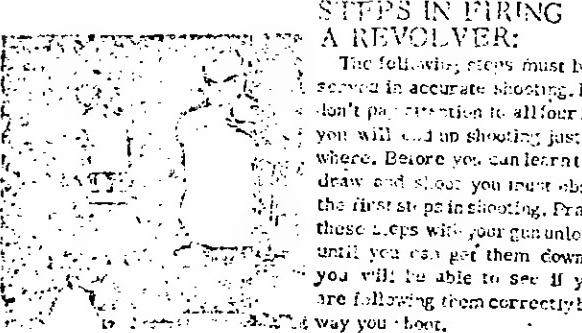
**COCKING A  
TURMOUR**

Put the tip of your thumb on the hammer, holding revolver steady; take the palm of your hand, turn it over, as in Fig. 1. The hammer comes out at the middle of the thumb, and you must not move your hand.

#### **UNCOCKING A REVOLVER (LOADED):**



#### KNEELING POSITION



#### **DEFENSE**

## POSITIONS IN FIRING:

The next 10 rows positions in  
a line (shown below). Each one is  
used for a different battle con-  
dition. The green position is for  
when you are being shot at and you

On the other hand, the author of the present paper has shown that the same effect can be obtained by the use of a single dose of 100 mg. of 2,4-dinitrophenyl-β-D-glucopyranose.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

WORLDS, DIVINE AND HELL,  
POSSIBLE & IMPOSSIBLE,  
AND RABBLE.

**Single Action:** cocking the hammer each time before firing. Cock the hammer, and then pull the trigger.

**Double Action:** just pulling the trigger each time, not cocking the hammer first. Try not to jerk or snap the trigger. The action is fast but smooth.

**Pointing:** the process of firing quickly without using sight aligners. You simply **aim** and point the barrel at your target and fire.

Rapid Firing: drawing, pointing, and shooting double-action. When you practice rapid firing, shoot off two shots in succession as quickly as possible.

## CLEANING YOUR REVOLVER:

For all of the revolvers listed at the beginning of the article you can use a .38 caliber cleaning kit. You will need a cleaning rod, bore brush tip, .38 caliber cleaning patches, cleaning solvent, and gun oil. For patches you can use material like flannel, and some types of cotton, any material that does not ravel or is very linty, cut into circles about 2" in diameter. All of this cleaning material can be purchased in any gun store.

Your revolver should be cleaned twice a week, and every time after firing. Keep it free of dust and dampness to avoid rusting. If you do not clean your gun immediately after firing it can cause corrosion of the barrel and eat away at it causing your shooting to become inaccurate because of holes that can develop from the powder eating away at the metal or rust from a lack of cleaning and dampness.

1. After firing your barrel and chambers in the cylinder have to be scrubbed with your bore brush and solvent every time. Attach brush to rod, dip brush in solvent, and use a brisk movement in and out of barrel and chambers in cylinder, cleaning out all of the particles out by holding barrel up to light to see if it shines inside, and you will be able to see any particles still holding on.

## RECYCLED TERMS

and 10 times. The average  
of all the counts made  
10 times is 10.0 and the  
range is from 8.0 to 12.0.  
It is evident that the  
area is completely cleared.

5. Then attach clear patches to  
one of 12 to 14 rows of all 120  
and then already ejected from oil.  
Do N-4 small patch in oil.

4. After cleaning the bore of the cylinder, take a patch with a few drops of solvent oil on it and wipe off your extractor and all other metal parts (outside of cylinder, and the outside of the gun). Cock the hammer and wipe it off thoroughly, add a couple of drops of oil (down the hammer).

5. Take a patch and with a couple of drops of oil on it rub your revolver, (all metal parts). There should be no visible finger prints on your revolver or excessive streaks on the outside. Your gun should not have an oily surface, just apply enough oil for protection against rust.

6. Sometimes for extra hard to get areas you will have to use a toothbrush dipped into a little solvent and brush briskly the area to get areas. Sometimes your brush will not remove all rust. In that case use fine steel wool and solvent, rubbing lightly to remove rust.

\*\*\*For normal cleaning just pull a patch through the barrel and cylinder and wipe off the gun with a few drops of clean patch.

Taken From:  
Methods Handbook  
Use and Care of Revolvers  
A publication of the Post Office  
Department  
Washington, D.C. 20260  
Can be purchased at Federal  
building. 25¢.

Part 27

The first weapon that we will deal with is the AR-15/16, which is the latest development in combat weaponry. This rifle is used by the fascist pig army in Viet Nam; It was a replacement for the M-16. The M-16 is a 5.56 mm, magazine fed, gas-operated air-cooled, shoulder weapon. By changing the position of a selector lever, the rifle can be made to shoot fully automatic. The rifle also has a flash suppressor mounted on the muzzle. The barrel is surrounded by heat shield material.

After the gun has been fired, it goes into semi-automatic, hitting another bullet. It continues to do this until it reaches its target at a very high rate of speed. The bullet is able to penetrate the most deadly caliber of bullet. It hits its target at such a speed that it kills, tearing everything it hits.

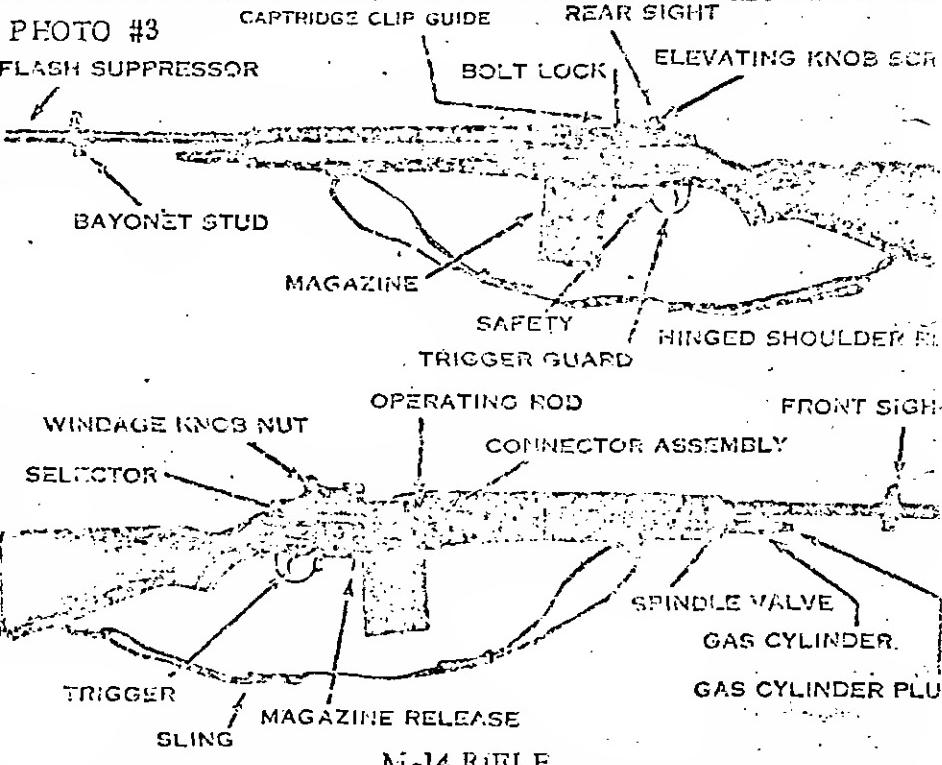
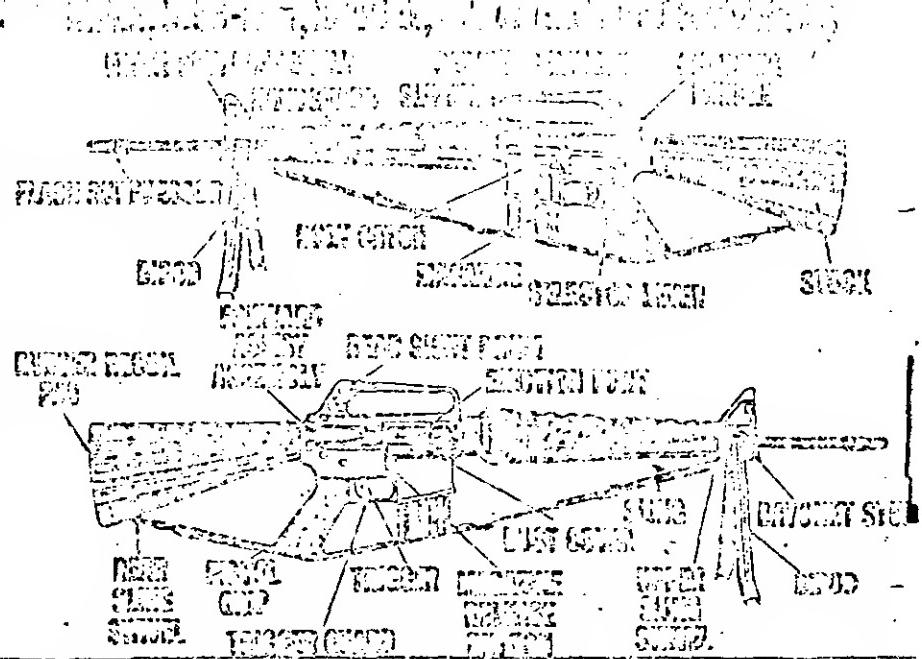
Firing semi-automatic the M-16 .223 shoots up to 45 to 65 rounds per minute. Fully-automatic it shoots 120 to 200 rounds per minute. The gun has a firing range up to 500 feet. (500 yards is the length of a football field). Comparing the M-16 to the M-14, the M-16 fires faster than the M-14. Semi-automatic than the M-16 does fully automatic. The ammunition that the M-16 uses, the man, also called .223 caliber, weighs half as much as the .30-06, that the M-14 shoots or the .30-08 which the M-14 fires. Therefore it is possible to carry twice as much .223 ammunition.

The model that has been explained so far is the government military version. There is a commercial model that is still being sold in gun stores, although not in large quantities; it is called the AR-15. The only difference between the two is the AR-15 does not have a selector switch that enables you to change the fire from semi-automatic to automatic fire. The bolt of the AR-15 is not chrome-plated like the M-16, and the M-15 is made up of a heavy material, thus making it hard on to better combat conditions. The AR-15 is also lighter—it only weighs 5 pounds. It sells in the store from \$250.00 to \$450.00 with a sniper scope mounted on the weapon. The weapon has a very light recoil; the trigger has a large spring in it called the 'action spring', which absorbs a great deal of the recoil of the rifle, bringing the recoil down to as much as 1/4 of the recoil of the M-16. This weapon because of its high rate of fire is a perfect weapon for assault operations. After it serves as an excellent defensive weapon with its large magazine capacity.

#### M-14 General Description

The M-14 is a gas operated magazine fed, air-cooled shoulder weapon. The magazine has a capacity of 20 rounds. When the M-14 was turned to the troops, it

by removing the selector and replacing it with a selector and selector spring. The rifle has a flash suppressor which also reduces recoil of weapon. A bayonet can be attached also. It has a muzzle velocity of 2,800 feet per second. The maximum effective range is 1,000 feet. The barrel length is 20-20 inches. The weight is 10-10 pounds and 14-14 pounds per pound. The gun has a maximum effective range of 1,000 feet. The gun is made of aluminum.



#### M-14 RIFLE

Over 7,500 NATO (G-2)

The troops in Vietnam no longer use this as the main weapon any longer, the National Guard troops that come into the Black community have these weapons now. Our weapon is also a good defensive and offensive weapon, that can be

Flash Suppressor—attachment that is located at the end of barrel. Its function is to hide the flash that comes out of gun when fired.

Magazine—Where ammunition is stored in chamber.

Maximum Rate of Fire—if you could shoot for one (1) minute without stopping to reload the amount of shots you would be maximum rate of fire.

Muzzle—End of barrel

Velocity—Speed

Recoil—This is when you pull the trigger. So a 20 round magazine would mean the magazine could hold 20 bullets.

Recoil—When the rifle fires it will kick upward so you don't get hit by the recoil.

Maximum Effective Range—This is the greatest distance that the weapon can hit a target and still be effective.

reprinted from 'The Gulf' Book of Military Training, Leather Neck, 3rd edition, P.C. - June 1965

In connection with BPP newspaper, articles under the following captions have appeared concerning Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The March 28, 1970, issue, Page 2, contained an article under the caption "People of the Community VS the Slumlords and Fascist Pigs of Winston-Salem" by JOHN E. MOORE, NCCF, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This article concerns the Panther armed opposition to the eviction of a Negro female and their refusal to allow the eviction.

The March 28, 1970, issued, Page 13, contained an article under the caption, "To the People of North Carolina" by the Central Staff, NCCF, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which warned the people of North Carolina of the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party (SVRP), an organization started by JOSE GONZALVEZ, described as an agent provocateur, egotistical fool, etc., who had started a "rent a nigger" organization in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The June 13, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "Pigs Harass" by NELSON MALLOY. This article concerns the alleged harassment and physical assault of a Negro male and female at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, due to the fact they had a bumper sticker "support your local BPP" on their automobile.

The June 13, 1970..issue contained an article under the caption "The Murder of Henry 'Dickie' Marrow, Oxford, North Carolina" by Field Lieutenant NELSON MALLOY. This article refers to the shooting of Negro male by two white males at Oxford, North Carolina, May 11, 1970.

The June 20, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "Too Wrong for Too Long" by NELSON MALLOY refers to the BPP demands on an A and P Store boycotted by the BPP. The A and P was described as a capitalist exploiter of the community.

The June 20, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "Racist Slumlords of Winston-Salem" by RICE refers to the rent increase at the Colony Place Apartments calling the landlords oppressors and "bloodsucking beasts" calling for sacrifice of landlords' blood.

It is noted that previously set forth was the fact that WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE resides in the Colony Place Apartments.

The June 20, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "We Will Run the Capitalist Out of Our Communities" by LARRY. This article also refers to the boycott of the A and P Store demanding that 95 percent of the help in the store be black, A and P make contributions to the BPP free breakfast program, that the best foods be placed in the store at lower prices and was derogatory of the Negro leadership of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for dealing with the A and P Store.

The June 20, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "The Labor Question" by CAIN. This concerned the R. J. Reynolds Company and accuses the company of paying lower wages and making a higher profit and called for a "end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black community".

[REDACTED] has identified ANTHONY CAIN as a member of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The June 20, 1970, issue contained an article under the caption "Ambulance Service or Genocide" which states there is a genocidal plan against the black race, citing an incident wherein a Negro male was refused ambulance service due to the fact he did not have money.

The June 20, 1970, issue, Page 6, contained an article under the caption "To Parents -- Whose Children are Actively Involved in National Salvation" by KATHY set forths that young people have been the workers and driving force of the "people's just struggle for liberation". which calls on the mothers and fathers and older people to support their children in their fight to initiate socialistic programs.

The June 20, 1970, issue, Page 4, contained an article under the caption "Actions -- Not Notices" by HAZEL MACK which concerns the lack of action of the City of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in connection with the renting of houses classified as unfit for residential use. The article claims the City of Winston-Salem fails to enforce the laws pertaining to the upkeep of houses.

The June 27, 1970, issue, Page 4, contained an article under the caption "Black Man Railroaded to Gas Chamber -- Winston-Salem, North Carolina", by LARRY LITTLE which sets forth that points 8 and 9 of the BPP platform and program were violated at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in connection with the sentencing

to death of a Negro male for an alleged rape of a 13 year old Negro female due to the fact that the jury was not made up of Negroes, containing "11 white racists southern crackers and one very old anglo Negro." The article states that black people throughout the country could see this decision as an attack on all black people and not just one and due to the fact that subject was guilty of raping a 13 year old black sister, this is classified as a decision to dehumanize all black people and justify the enslavement of black people. The article calls for black people to quit relating to the courts and "take the struggle to the streets."

The June 20, 1970, issue, Page 4, contained an article under the caption "Mrs. Allford, Victim of A and P Racism" by HAZEL MACK, refers to the suing of A and P for negligence with the case being thrown out of court. The article cites this as an incident of unfairness and the lack of interest by the A and P management in the people's problems.

The July 4, 1970, issue, Page 5, contained an article under the caption "Liaison Officers -- Another Systematic Means of Exploitation" by SLACK, which concerns an anti-poverty program wherein "lackey" will assist the pigs and act as a liaison agent among the policemen, youth groups, and vocal groups in urban areas. The article claims the "nigger liaisons" have joined the fascist pigs to help pacify, terrify, torture and murder our people by giving the pigs information concerning black people. The article states "so we the people of Babylon are saying to you Piglet Liaison that: When it's time for the barbecue, you will roast too."

The July 4, 1970, issue, Page 7, contained an article under the caption "Pigs Play in Deceit. Political Prisoners for Prisoners of War" by NELSON MALLOY refers to the BPP program calling for the release of HUEY P. NEWTON and BOBBY SEALE in exchange for prisoners of war. It derides the North Carolina National Guard for their asking people to sign a petition to show their concern for Americans in prisoner of war camps in Northern Vietnam. The article states "your sons and husbands will remain prisoners as long as Nixon continues his aggression in North Vietnam and occupation of the black colony."

The July 4, 1970, issue, Page 6, contained an article under the caption "Safe Bus Company, A Venture in Black Capitalism" by NELSON MALLOY, which called the Safe Bus Company a black owned company yielding to black exploiters of the people due to the fact that they have increased the fares in order to run and extend bus service by the company into white communities.

The July 4, 1970, issue, Page 3, contained an article under the caption "Judge A. Lincoln Sherk" by SLACK which refers to the conviction of a number of Negro defendants by Judge SHERK and states that he has a kangaroo court set up for black people.

The July 4, 1970, issue, Page 14, contained an article under the caption "One of Our Main Purposes is to Unify Our Brothers and Sisters in the North with Our Brothers and Sisters in the South" by DOUG MIRANDA, which calls for the unification of black people in both the North and South in order to began the final stage of the revolutionary thrust.

The July 11, 1970, issue, Page 3, contained an article under the caption "Winston-Salem -- On Chicago Street -- All the Pigs Do is Come By and Collect Rent" calls for houses on Chicago Street in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, described as rat infested shacks to be turned over to the people from the rental agents.

The July 8, 1970, issue, Page 3, contained an article under the caption "Drugs and the Black Community of Winston-Salem" by CAIN calls for the abolition of drug use in the black community as it is part of a genocidal attempt by the ruling class pigs to increase the suffering of the black people.

The July 18, 1970, issue, Page 9, contained an article under the caption "Mary Ann Brooks was Refused Service By Reynolds Memorial Hospital's Lackies...Because She Had no Money" by RICE which refers to MARY ANN BROOKS, a registered nurse, employed by Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, who could not get service at the hospital before paying \$12, until it was determined she was an employee.

It is noted that [REDACTED] has described MARY ANN BROOKS as the girl friend of WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE.

The July 18, 1970, issue, Page 16, contained an article under the caption "We Must Recognize That We Can Destroy This Racist System That is Enslaving The World" by LARRY which article considered the "racist government" and its fascist tactics to be enslaving the world and states "when we are armed, then we are certainly a force to be reckoned with."

The July 18, 1970, issue, Page 8, contained an article under the caption "Bobby Stover Victim of American Terror Tactics by White Racist Pigs" refers to a Negro Marine discharged yet still listed by the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Police Department as a deserter. This was called an attempt to kill all brothers who have come back from Vietnam because they have acquired valuable knowledge about guns and how to kill the aggressors.

The July 18, 1970, issue, Page 4, contained an article under the caption "We Want an End to The Robbery By The Capitalist of Our Black Community". This article by TOOTSIE CRISS (true name CYNTHIA CRISS) refers to a court matter wherein a Negro male was arrested in 1959 and was required to put up a peace bond, however, died and his wife has been unable to obtain the money. The article accuses attorneys and Winston-Salem authorities of being racist pigs dogs who are oppressing and exploiting the people.

CE 157-6171

D. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

CE 157-6171

1. BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

On February 4, 1970, SF T-16 reported that from information received from the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, it was indicated that they were going to start a breakfast program at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, within the next week.

[redacted] reported that on [redacted] at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the BPP picked up children for their breakfast program starting at approximately 7 A.M. and claim they feed 40 children each day at their headquarters on East Fifth Street. It was claimed the purpose of this program is to win favor and approval of the community at large. In addition to the breakfast program, this is a method for indoctrinating the children in Panther psychology and militant activites.

[redacted] reported that approximately 30 children were fed at BPP headquarters, 1210 East Fifth Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[redacted] reported that approximately 35 children were fed.

On June 2, 1970, observation was made of the BPP headquarters, 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from 7:15 A.M. until 8 A.M. and approximately 15 children were observed entering or leaving the house at this period. One vehicle observed letting three children out in front of the house had a 1970 North Carolina license.

[redacted] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; at the time the automobile was observed at the house it was being driven by a Negro male with a mustache and sideburns.

It is noted that [redacted] has reportedly been the girl friend of [redacted]

During June, 1970, [redacted] reported that after the close of school, the breakfast for children program was discontinued.

CE 157-6171

**2. LIBERATION SCHOOL AND TRAINING PROGRAM**

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
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# WINSTON SALEM

## LIBERATION SCHOOL

"We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society."

As members of the Black Liberation Army, we are the Vanguard Party of the masses. Therefore, we should help our people and protect them by any means necessary.

We realize that our people have been under oppression for over 400 years. Our people are hungry and without clothes, without decent housing and without knowledge of the nature of our struggle. When the people from the community come to us for help, this is good; we say right on, to that, because that is what we're here for, "to serve the people". We must remain humble servants of the people. As Huey says, "we are oxen, to be



written by the people", and we are going to be ridden down the path of a people's revolution.

We say that our people and our youth in particular should be educated, to the nature of our struggle. So what do we do? We implement Liberation School from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., every day Monday through Friday; and political education classes for the community on Tuesday night from 7:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The lunch program is now functioning here in Winston-Salem. It started June 15, 1970, we had approximately 40 kids and they responded beautifully. The young warriors are learning and taking the concept of the 'Big Family' (so-

cialism) as their own, and will spread these ideas in the community. We must continue to let this beautiful thing go on. We have to hold fast and educate the youth because the Youth Make the Revolution.

Most of us will not live to see the end of the revolution, but our one comforting thought is that the youth will do as we have done in the name of the Revolution.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

**ALL POWER TO THE YOUTH**

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

David Bowman

Cynthia Criss

On July 7, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] believed to be [REDACTED] had mentioned that they had had 20 people at the Liberation School on July 7, 1970, and was inquiring as to the curriculum to be used.

On [REDACTED] reported that a political meeting was held at BPP headquarters, 1602 East 14th Street, [REDACTED] when the main speaker was LARRY LITTLE who talked to a group from the surrounding community concerning oppression from the pig forces of the city. He also spoke at length about a new constitution to be written by black people in Philadelphia this fall.

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] LARRY LITTLE conducted an indoctrination talk at BPP headquarters where he stated there would be revolution in the near future and told those present to get a gun, preferably a big gun such as a .44 Magnum. LITTLE made derogatory statements concerning President NIXON's policies ranging from the Vietnam War to welfare, claiming NIXON takes people's money and gives only a little back to a few. He commented about the Police Departments using vicious war type tactics against the Panthers. Apparently he has a strong grudge against Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chief of Police JESIUS TUCKER.

On [REDACTED] advised that political education classes are taught daily for various groups and the BPP in Training attend the classes at least every other day. Teachers are LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELI [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] There are sometimes as high as 30 people in the political education classes with many of these people being from the surrounding communities and not members. LITTLE and CORNELI deride the systems and local law enforcement and tell people they must get guns to protect themselves from the pigs and avaricious businessmen.

[REDACTED] noted that during the mornings, there are approximately 20 small children who come to the BPP headquarters between the hours of 8 and 11:30 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These children are between the ages of 4 and 10

CP 157-6171

3. PUBLIC APPEARANCES

On January 8, 1970, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that in connection with a "Save Marin Hill Day" demonstration at Raleigh, North Carolina, January 8, 1970, a rally was held with a number of speakers, one of whom was LARRY LITTLE who was introduced as the Minister of Information for the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On January 9, 1970, a recording of the speeches was made [redacted]. The remarks of LARRY LITTLE referred to Point Number 8 of the BPP 10-Point Program as set forth by Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON desiring all black people to be freed from prison because they did not receive a fair trial. LITTLE also condemned the "racist, fascist, imperialist court system" of North Carolina. He ended his speech by stating "black power to black people and panther power to BPP."

On February 10, 1970, a flyer was noted on the door of the BPP Office, 1210 East Fifth Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, by a Special Agent of the FBI. This flyer called for a BPP birthday rally, February 15, 1970, in honor of HUEY P. NEWTON. The flyer listed a number of local speakers and sets forth that the children from the free breakfast program and liberation school would perform.

It is noted in connection with this rally on February 4, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [redacted] was to determine if anyone was available from the national BPP office to speak at the February 15, 1970, celebration at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On February 16, 1970, [redacted] reported 300 to 400 people attended the HUEY P. NEWTON birthday rally at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, where ROBERT T. GREER, Defense Captain, of the NCCF, acted as master of ceremonies. Leaflets handed out indicated Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF is considered to be an organizing bureau of the BPP. The contents of the speeches dealt with the "No Knock" law and were the routine militant type advocating violence with the exception of political candidate, WILLIE E. SMITH, who was not a BPP member and was opposed to the violence as called for by the NCCF. Much was said about the panthers killed in the past by the police.

A transcript of a tape recording of speeches made at the rally indicates that JACKIE PEOPLES and ROBERT T. GREER acted as masters of ceremonies. GREER called for the

freeing of HUEY P. NEWTON, stating that they had nothing on NEWTON referring to California authorities and he was really in jail because he was the first true revolutionist in 100 years. GREER described himself as Defense Captain of the NCCF, political arm of the BPP and his comments derided a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, policeman, "pig MATTHEWS", stating that he is crazy and wants to kill him a "nigger."

BARTZE VERNARD SPEASE, introduced as Lieutenant of Education, stated that the BPP has stopped more oppression than any organization; however, 28 panthers have been killed in stopping this oppression. SPEASE was also critical of drugs in the community due to the fact that a "junkie" would sell them out.

LARRY LITTLE in his speech called for mobilization of forces as that is the only thing understood by the power structure in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He considered the Government capitalist and did not meet the needs of the people. He stated the BPP would deal with anybody that stands in the way of their programs. He stated "we're for their emancipation and we understand that no one is going to be free until we destroy this imperialist monster right here, the United States Government." (Referring to emancipation of blacks and poor oppressed people.) He called for the building of a black liberation army to take what was theirs. He stated "there is an organized attempt that is coming down from J. EDGAR HOOVER, Head of the fascist bastards Incorporated, and RICHARD NIXON, the Head of the American people, the Chief Spokesman of the American people. There is an attempt to try to liquidate the BPP." LITTLE called for the takeover of the black community.

ROBERT T. GREER ended the meeting with a speech calling for the people to get a gun and be ready to defend themselves and also called for the people of the community to unit with the BPP.

On [redacted] reported that on February 19, 1970, WILLIAM RICE and LARRY LITTLE appeared at Winston-Salem State University (a predominantly Negro school) where they spoke and had a question and answer period. It was apparent from the questions and lack of enthusiasm that the group was not well received and one student commented that he felt the panthers were uncouth and stupid and many of the questions by the students concerned the lack of education, administrative ability and goals of the BPP group. The talks by RICE and LITTLE were primarily derogatory toward the establishment and ran down the college and instructors for their lack of black identity and black involvement.

On February 21, 1970, approximately 4 carloads of BPP members went to a dance at Winston-Salem State University which was a part of "Black Identity Week." They took over the dance floor, blocked the doors and ROBERT TAYLOR GREER yelled and cursed at the people for their lack of support for the BPP, threatening to forcibly shave some of the Afro hairdos.

[REDACTED] advised on April 11, 1970, LARRY LITTLE, representing the BPP, spoke for approximately 15 minutes at an Anti-War Festival of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. In his speech, LITTLE referred to President NIXON as a pig who should be in a pin and stressed the only thing the power structure in America understood was violence and money.

During March, 1970, and April, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] was planning a "May Day Rally" for May 3, 1970, and he desired a national prominent BPP member to speak along with the film "Off the Pig".

On April 21, 1970, [REDACTED] provided a copy of a flyer concerning this rally to T-16.

# MAY RALLY

COME ONE AND SUPPORT CHAIRMAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY.  
THE FASCISTS HAVE ALREADY DECIDED IN ADVANCE TO MURDER CHAIRMAN  
BROWN WHILE IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIR IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

## TOWER of POWER

### AUDITORIUM

15<sup>th</sup> AND ENGLISH

DATE: SUNDAY MAY 3

TIME: 4:30 P.M.

FILEM "OFF THE PIG" will be shown

### SPEAKERS

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| BLACK THOMAS . . . . .  | Ministry of Finance |
| NELSON WALKER . . . . . | Field Lieutenant    |
| BILL RICE . . . . .     | Lieutenant          |

REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WILL SPEAK

WINSTON-SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

USE WHAT YOU GOT TO TAKE WHAT YOU NEED 46

On [REDACTED] reported that the rally scheduled for May 3, 1970, was held from the hours of 5:30 to 8:30 P.M. with approximately 300 in attendance. LARRY LITTLE was master of ceremonies and main speaker was a member of the New York 21" and what appeared to be his bodyguard.

It is noted that in connection with this on May 3, 1970, NH T-12 reported that [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had instructed him and [REDACTED] to Winston-Salem, North Carolina; however, NH T-12 later reported that [REDACTED] would accompany [REDACTED] as his bodyguard.

[REDACTED]

LARRY LITTLE acted as master of ceremonies with the principle speakers being DARUBA, one of 21 members of the BPP arrested in New York. In addition to DARUBA, "SLACK" THOMAS (THERESA THOMAS) spoke on the need for women to back up their men in the fight. BILL RICE (WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE) referred to the 29 panthers already murdered and the numerous ones in jail, stated that "everyone knows that laws are made of the pigs, by the pigs and for the pigs." RICE called the trial of BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE preplanned murder and genocide. DARUBA called for people to pick up the gun and free BOBBY SEALE along with the "Connecticut 9" and the "New York 21" who he stated were arrested because of their struggle for the people. He called for Negroes to stay in the Army and off (kill) their officers. DARUBA called for an attack on law enforcement and for the people to relate to the struggle of the North Vietnamese.

On [REDACTED] reported that around six members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF along with approximately 30 other individuals from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, were planning on attending the rally in support of the BPP at the Lincoln Memorial on June 19, 1970.

On June 19, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that Piedmont Coach Lines Bus bearing North Carolina license 2410-FA departed BPP headquarters, 1602 14th Street, Northeast, at 7 A.M. with 11 males and 15 females aboard.

CE 157-6171

E. FINANCES

CE 157-6171

On June 10, 1970, SF T-22 reported that 2,000 BPP papers were to be sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that week. [REDACTED] has reported that each member is required to sell 50 papers per week at 25 cents per paper and turn the money back into headquarters.

[REDACTED] It appears the Panthers have sufficient money to get along on and as of July 17, 1970, [REDACTED] reported observing people walk up to the Panther members on the streets and give them donations.

On [REDACTED] reported that KATHY HARRIS (later identified as KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS by [REDACTED]) sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CE 157-6161

F. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

On [REDACTED] reported that JOSE GONZALVEZ was attempting to organize a group under the name of the SVRP in North Carolina. [REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was instructed to develop information concerning this. On February 4, 1970, NH T-12 reported that LITTLE was not connected with BPP members at New Haven, Connecticut, which is where GONZALVEZ was before traveling to North Carolina.

[REDACTED] was told that JOSE had been in Connecticut after receiving training on the West Coast but lacked ability to lead.

On [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] was apparently preparing some type of communication to down grade GONZALVEZ and on March 28, 1970, the following article appeared in the BPP newspaper.

# TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA

A study of history will show that one of the major obstacles that oppressed people have had to deal with in their just struggle for freedom has been the oppressive power structure. This Liberation struggle in the Black Colony proves to be no exception. A Rent-a-Nigger organization called the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party has emerged in Greensboro, N.C. under the disguise of trying to solve the drug problem in Greensboro. The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism can relate to anybody trying to get drugs out of the community because we understand that drugs along with the Mass Media are part and parcel of the apparatus of oppression that the people are up against. But we also say that "social practice is the criterion of the truth." So we're going to judge these niggers through their social practice to determine if they are true ser-

vants of the people or whether they're just another Rent-a-Nigger organization that the oppressive power structure is using to infiltrate the revolution in an attempt to lead the people's struggle astray.

The chairman of this organization is Jose Gonzalez, an agent provocateur from the New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party. This is the same nigger that so mysteriously split from the Party right before the frame-up of the Connecticut "8." While in the Black Panther Party this nigger's social practice proved that he was nothing more than an egotistical fool, always greedy for recognition, he even stole clothes and watches from the comrades in the Party. This nigger has been seen in other areas of the states selling .22, suicide pop guns to little brothers who don't know any better.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1970

Before this Jack-a-nape Gonzalez and his fellow lackey, Brad Belcher (who's listed as the Minister of Defense), started their own Rent-a-Nigger organization they were going around misleading the people in North Carolina by telling them that they were Field Marshals of the Black Panther Party and that they were sent into the North Carolina area to organize. At this time these same niggers along with a few more bootlickin niggers are going around wearing Black Leather Jackets, Berets and Party buttons telling people that their Rent-a-Nigger organization is affiliated with the Black Panther Party which is a lie. The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (which is a political Bureau of the Black Panther Party) is the only organization in the State of North Carolina that is affiliated with the Black Panther Party.

People of North Carolina and throughout America BEWARE of these niggers who call themselves revolutionaries and who use super-revolutionary slogans but through their social practice can be discovered to be either opportunistic niggers who are just greedily trying to get on the Band Wagon because they think it's the popular trend OR The Lowest of Low-lifes Pigs these bootlicking niggers who are trying to infiltrate the people's righteous struggle in an attempt to prolong and maintain their MASTERS oppression over their own people.

SEIZE THE TIME  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Central Staff  
National Committee to Combat  
Fascism, Winston-Salem

On April 13, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] has informed BPP leadership that JOSE GONZALVEZ has left North Carolina, but has gone to Virginia and [REDACTED] was instructed to inform the people in that area of his activities.

CE 157-6171

G. MISCELLANEOUS

# PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST VS THE SLUMLORDS AND FASCIST PIGS OF WINSTON-SALEM

"We want decent housing, fit

for the shelter of human beings." In any city, country or nation, this is one of the most important necessities that one needs to live. But it seems as if the Slumlords and Fascist Pigs of Winston-Salem don't know this or that they just don't care about anyone else. On March 4, 1970, Miss Polly Graham came into the Headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism and stated that she had been evicted from her house after the door had been kicked in by Fascist Pigs and a silly anxious Slumlord. Miss Graham asked the N.C.C.F. for any type of help or assistance we could give her. After arriving in the community we found out not only

had Miss Graham been evicted but the fools (PCFS) had promised to come back and evict other families of the community. The houses in the Locust Street area are not fit for the Shelter of Human Beings; some of the houses do not have bathtubs, some don't have hot water, windows are broken and some have holes in the walls big enough for pigs to crawl through. The Slumlords have not made any effort to correct any of these deficiencies. If anyone should be paying anything, the people who live in these rat infested houses should be paid for living under such conditions. The people of this community got together with a Brother and Sister of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism and decided that Miss

Graham nor anyone else was going to be evicted. Miss Graham's belongings were moved back into the house. The Brother and Sister and people of the community armed and prepared themselves to deal with the pigs and landlords when they returned. When word reached the low-H.O. pigs that we were ready to deal with them in the language they spoke, through the barrel of a gun, they wouldn't show their faces in the community. The running dog's hid. Afterwards, it was reported that an anonymous donor had paid the rent, and another report said some type of government agency had paid the rent.

But regardless of how the rent was paid; the people had taken their stand and they vowed to resist any more evictions and the reason why these fools are upset is because the people also objected to the munity have taken paying of the rent because they felt like the house was not worth the money that was paid.

Since this incident, the city officials or "City Slickers" have gotten upset over the eviction, as if this was the first time it has happened. Of course everyone knows this is not the first time the oppressor of Winston-Salem are going to be dealing with you from here on out. We have the constitutional right to bear arms, and if that's what it takes place, just last week an elderly lady, Mrs. Minnie Bellamy and her grandchildren were evicted in ice cold weather, and nothing was done about it. Those fools down-BLOOD TO THE HOUSE'S BRO' AND WOE TO THOSE WHO C SHOOT!

John E. Moore

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1970 PAGE 2

In connection with the above article, the following information is set forth:

On March 5, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had advised the National Headquarters of the BPP at Berkeley, California, that in connection with an eviction proceeding for non-payment of rent, deputies had moved a woman's belongings into the street and these were returned by brothers to the house with armed guards posted after which the law enforcement officers withdrew from the scene.

On March 12, 1970, Forsyth County Deputy Sheriffs BOB SHORE and JAMES INGRAM advised that on approximately the third of March, 1970, they went to the area of Locust Street and first went to a residence at 1521 East 16th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, with eviction papers.

A Negro woman, LILLIAN FARMER, was sick in bed so they did not evict this family, but told them to find another place to live as they would have to come back in a few days to evict them.

They then went to 1608 Locust Street with a magistrate's order of eviction for the residents, noting they had previously been served with a magistrate's summons on eviction. No one was home and the door was padlocked on the outside. They pulled the hasp with a crowbar and started putting the furniture in the street as ordered by the magistrate's order of eviction. This was listed as the home of FRANK MC MULLIS, but after they had removed approximately one half of the furniture, an unidentified woman who was drunk and yelling and swearing said that this was her furniture and not to set it out. She picked up a hammer and started after the people moving the furniture, but the deputies told her to leave and she did.

During this time, another drunken Negro female identified as POLLY GRAHAM, came in swearing and yelling but she also left. The deputies advised they started to move the cook stove, but could not do so as it would fall apart so they left it in the house.

They then went to a house at the corner of Locust and 16th Streets, with papers for eviction, but found there was a drunk blind elderly Negro man in the back room. He had apparently accidentally kicked over a portable oil stove as there was oil on the floor and the house was full of smoke. The deputies advised they set the stove back up to insure there was not a fire hazard and told him of the eviction, but as he was old and blind, they did not evict him and told him to find a new place to stay as they would have to come back in a few days and evict him.

During this time, the Negro female identified as POLLY GRAHAM came into this house, swearing and yelling, and she was told to leave or she would be arrested for cursing and abusing an officer. She said "You go to hell, you don't have enough authority to arrest me because we all stick together over here." She then ran out and went down Locust Street yelling "Let's all stick together."

The deputies advised they then went on about their normal business and did not ever see any Panthers in the area. These activities occurred at approximately 10 A.M. and at approximately 2 P.M., Sheriff E. G. SHORE, Forsyth County Sheriff's Office, called them on the radio and told them the rent had been paid on all three of the above-described places and not to evict them.

The deputies emphasized there had been no encounter with Panthers and no racial incident and they had not even seen any BPP members in the area.

The March 3, 1970, issue of "The Twin City Sentinel," Winston-Salem, North Carolina, daily newspaper, contained an article which states in part that that morning two members of the BPP stationed themselves outside a house on Locust Street whose occupant had been evicted earlier by Deputy Sheriffs after moving her furniture and possessions back into the house. The newspaper article quoted the Panthers as stating they would resist attempts to re-evict the woman.

"The Journal", daily Winston-Salem, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1970, contained an article under the caption "Donor Pays Rents, Avoiding Evictions," which article is quoted in part as follows:

"An anonymous donor paid \$540 in back rent and court fees yesterday and postponed the evictions of three East Winston tenants.

"The action averted a possible armed confrontation between sheriff' deputies, who were making the evictions, and Black Panthers, who were posted around the area with loaded guns.

"The money was paid to L. F. REED and Son Real Estate Company about 3 P.M. yesterday, by ROBERT LAW, a staff member of the Experiment in Self-Reliance. LAW would not reveal where the money came from.

"MARK H. FREEMAN, Director of the Urban Coalition, said last night that a person had given the money to the coalition and that the coalition would use it to reimburse the Experiment, which took the money from its emergency fund."

On February 16, 1970, [redacted] identified LARRY DONNELL LITTLE as the Minister of Information of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group considers itself to be a BPP affiliated organization.

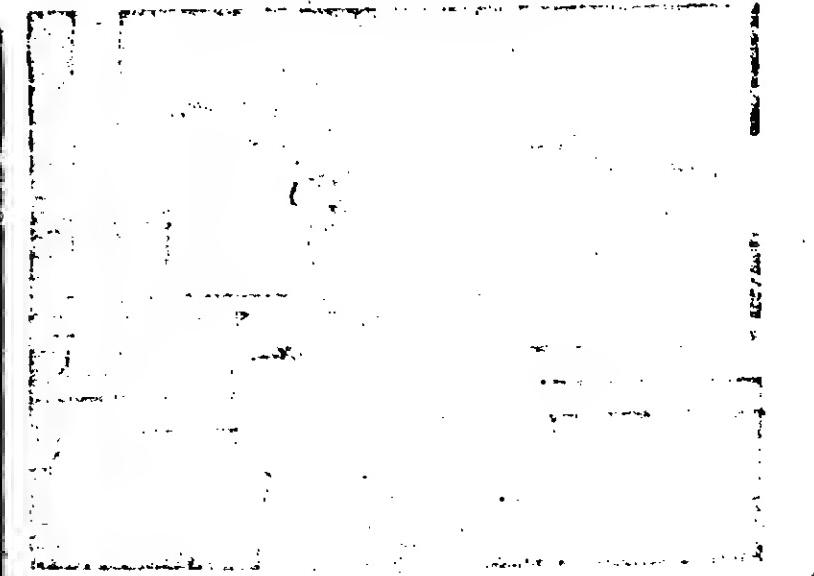
[redacted] reported that [redacted] to be used in connection with an article concerning police harassment.

On July 17, 1970, [redacted] advised this article was written by EDWARD MC QUEEN.

# Bobby Stover

## VICTIM OF AMERICAN TERROR TACTICS

### BY WHITE RACIST PIGS



#### *Billy Stovers, victim of racist terror tactics.*

No. 6 of our 10-Point Platform and Program states that: "We want all Black men to be exempt from military service," and that "We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in a military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us."

On June 24, 1970, Brother Bobby Stover was at his home where his sisters live. He had just been discharged from the Marine Corp a couple of weeks before. As they sat talking, a car load of racist pigs drove up to his house with their guns drawn, ready to shoot. They said that they had a warrant stating that the F.B.I. was looking for him and also the Marine Corps. They never gave any reason why they were looking for him. Brother Bobby had his discharge papers with him stating that he had been discharged on June 5, 1970. Because of the racist nature of these blood thirsty pigs, Brother Bobby was fortunate that he wasn't killed by these pigs.

This should prove to Black people that a Black man can have no peace or justice in this decadent society. The fact that brother Bobby has fought for this country in a war for the benefit of the pigs, and when he gets

back home, these same pigs that he was protecting were ready and eager to murder him and his sisters. Luckily, Bobby was able to produce his papers or else more niggers would have been dead. There is at this time a clear attempt by the fascist dogs to rip off all the brothers who have come back from Vietnam because they possess valuable knowledge about guns and how to go about ripping off the oppressor.

Check it out, brothers, remember that you didn't have to go to the war, but if you go because you're already in, let the first thing you do be to place a shot right between the eyes of your commanding officer and all other lackeys who are committing genocide against other people of color. These are the same racist pigs that give out the orders to have your mothers and fathers brutalized and murdered. It is not the Vietnamese people that call you nigger or fire-bomb, and shoot-up your home in midnight raids of the Black community.

So, brothers, if you go, bring back the knowledge you gained and put it to use for the people.

DEATH TO THE RACIST PIGS  
Winston-Salem, N.C.G.S.

CE 157-6171

On [REDACTED] reported that members of the BPP had been discussing the new police precinct house in the Negro project near Derry Street and the problems it was causing them. No plans, however, were made to take actual action against the building.

[REDACTED]

## PIGS OF WINSTON-SALEM MODEL CITY POLICE PRECINCT ARE ATTEMPTING TO WIN THE SYMPATHY OF THE PEOPLE

The Black Panther Party has always served the people. The Black Panther Party members have strove continuously to help the people get their basic needs and desires and have been an oxen to be ridden by the people. The Black Panther Party is a people's Party and exists because it is truly a Party that is of the people, by the people and for the people. The Party is made up of the people, therefore it is manifested in the people, making the people and the Party one-in-one and the same.

attempting to win the sympathy of the people and in doing so, discredit the activities of the N.C.C.F. here in Winston-Salem.

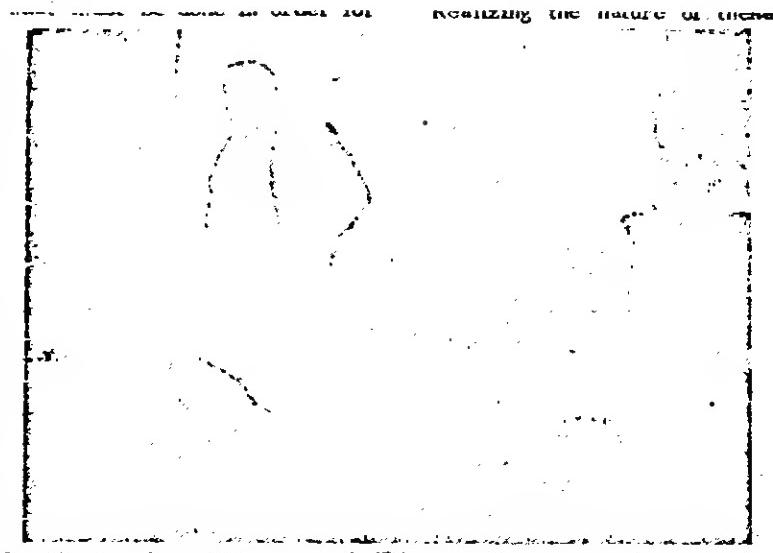
These pigs started out by sending out newsletters to the community to store owners telling them that we misuse the money and donations that they give. They accuse us of extorting money from other store owners. To further their sabotage attempts they have started what appears to be a Free Lunch Program in various areas of the community. They pass out surplus food in

  
*Pigs use deceptive measures to sabotage revolutionary actions of the N.C.C.F.*

The N.C.C.F. of Winston-Salem has implemented some of the programs that the National Black Panther Party has set the example of how to serve the people. In Winston-Salem, the N.C.C.F. has a Free Breakfast for Children where, during the school months we serve a hot breakfast consisting of a variety of foods every morning. We have for the people, a Free Lunch Program, where we serve lunch to the youth of the community every day during the summer months. We have Liberation School for the youth and community political education for the older brothers and sisters where they each learn about the Party, this decadent society, and

  
*Brother and his child in front of pig mobile station.*

little shoe boxes to the people. The food consists of nothing but cold bologna, milk, a spoonful of slaw or potato salad, or something similar, but definitely nothing nourishing. The pigs have moved a trailer into the community, which is called a Model City Pig Precinct, that is for the purposes of supposedly protecting the people of the community, and bring about a lower crime rate in the community. The pigs show through their practice that this is not the reason they are there because the crime rate has risen since their occupation. The pigs show five movies to the youth in the community and sometimes carry them downtown and buy clothes and shoes.



*In their deceptive act, Pigs show movies to the people to pacify the people's struggle.*

Black people to gain their freedom. We buy food and pay rent when we are able to, for the people in the community when they find themselves and their family in a desperate situation, about to go hungry or their welfare checks late. Once a month we assist the forgotten senior citizens get their groceries from the stores and take them home.

These are some of the things that we're engaged in to help the people. These programs have been successful and the people relate to them heavily and can readily see who has their interest at heart. And because the people can recognize this, the pig power structure has gotten uptight and started tripping out. The pigs, along with bootlicking lackeys have begun to act as though they are the ones who are truly concerned about the welfare of the people. They are

beasts, we recognize their plan of gaining the sympathy of the people and making themselves look like angels and the members of the N.C.C.F. look like devils. Once they think they have gained the sympathy of the people, they are going to attempt to rip off the People's Community Center. Through their Initiative programs they think that the people will stand idly by and endorse such actions of aggression and fascism.

Pigs, the people have been checking out your practice for 400 years and are saying that there is nothing you can do that will ever stop them from recognizing who the real enemy is and how to go about dealing with the man in an efficient manner.

#### DEATH TO THE PIGS

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY.  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

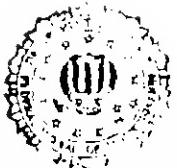
Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

65\*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 31, 1970

Title                   BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character             RACIAL MATTERS

Reference           Report of SA THOMAS H. GEORGE  
                     at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated  
                     and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

7/27/70

Please use the following code when addressing your mail. (Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

RM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 7/27/70.

For the information of the Baltimore Division, reairtel reported that [REDACTED] BPP Minister of Education, indicated on about 7/9/70, that he had been in contact with one [REDACTED] concerning establishing a National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) at Winston-Salem, N.C. Charlotte requested information concerning the identity of [REDACTED]

The only [REDACTED] known to the San Francisco Division is an active BPP member at Baltimore, Md. It is assumed this is the individual to whom [REDACTED] had reference to.

Baltimore advise Charlotte if [REDACTED] is presently at Baltimore, if [REDACTED] is known to have been involved in organizing the NCCF at Winston-Salem, and if [REDACTED] is known to have visited Winston-Salem for this purpose early in 7/70.

- 2 - Bureau  
2 - Baltimore (157-3241)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
RNB/pae  
(8)

REC-57 105-165706-8-247

58/01  
AUG 17 1970

EX-110

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CP-70

F B I

Date: 7/31/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL  
(Priority)1. V. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. P. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. H. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. M. G. \_\_\_\_\_  
5. S. \_\_\_\_\_

*HMB*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8 )  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
 RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, 3/30/70.

On 7/30/70 the following information was received  
from [REDACTED] (SF T-22)

On 7/30/70 BPP National Distribution Office, San Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Material Shipped     | BPP newspapers   |
| Quantity             | 9 boxes  |
| Destination          | Winston-Salem, N.C.                                      |
| Shipping Information | DAL Flt. 18 to arrive<br>Winston-Salem 3:40 p.m. 7/30/70 |
| Airbill Number       | 14012164   |

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 RNB/krh  
 (5)

REC-23

EX-100  
105-165706-8-24610 AUG 4<sup>th</sup> 1970

Approved: 66 AUG 10 1970

Canfield Annex to Clerks

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SI 157-1581C  
RNB:kah

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but, whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.

F B I

Date: 7/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7710)  
PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY,  
 HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA,  
 5:00 PM, 7/26/70  
 BPP - RM

Re Charlotte teletypes to Bureau dated 7/24/70, and  
 7/26/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM  
 regarding captioned matter copies of which are being disseminated  
 locally to military intelligence and Secret Service.

Information attributed to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was furnished SA [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] spot  
 checked Washington Terrace Park, High Point, N. C., 7/26/70.

[REDACTED] advised 7/24/70 by SA  
 [REDACTED] of proposed rally.

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)

5-Charlotte

(2-157-7710)

(1-157-6171) (BPP)

(157-7699) (Winston-Salem) *EX-117*

*REC-51*

*105-165706-8-245*

FLF:cvs  
 (7)

2 JUL 29 1970

AGENCY: ACSI, OHI, OSL, SEC SEC

DEPT ISD: *TDIU* *STG4*, TPS

DATE FORW: JUL 30 1970 *Icc detached by*

HOW FORW: *Klan Unit*

*NATIONAL IN. SECT.*

5 AUG 10 1970

Approved: SPM/AM Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per - 105-37360  
 Special Agent in Charge

dib  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 27, 1970

PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY,  
HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA, 5:00 PM,  
JULY 26, 1970  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY - RACIAL MATTER

On July 24, 1970 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], all High Point, North Carolina, reported that unconfirmed rumors had been received that captioned rally was scheduled for 5:00 PM on July 26, 1970, at Washington Terrace Park, High Point, North Carolina.

On July 25, 1970, [REDACTED] (supra) furnished a copy of a throwaway reporting a mass rally was to be held at the above location sponsored by the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), 1602 East 14th and Jackson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, described as the Organizing Bureau of the Black Panther Party.

Speakers from the NCCF and community were to discuss the following topics:

- (1) Black Panther Party
- (2) Revolutionary Peoples Constitution Convention
- (3) Political Prisoners
- (4) Repression of the Black Panther Party

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

105-16226-71

FBI - JRC

RE: PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY RALLY

On July 26, 1970, [redacted] further explained the rally was cancelled inasmuch as alleged local Black Panther Party member MELVIN LLOYD BARBER, former OEO employee, has a trial pending on three assault charges stemming from his recent dismissal by OEO, Greensboro, North Carolina, for taking several neighborhood Youth Corps girls to a Black Panther Party meeting at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, several weeks ago.

On July 24, 1970, BARBER appeared in United States District Court, High Point, North Carolina, on these assault charges; however, his case was continued until August 17, 1970.

At the time the continuance was granted Judge KENNETH CARRINGTON explained to BARBER that he would be held personally accountable for any violence which might directly or indirectly occur in the community in the meantime.

[redacted] explained that this lecture brought about the cancellation of the rally for fear of jeopardizing BARBER'S case.

On July 26, 1970, a check of the Washington Terrace Park, High Point, North Carolina, by two FBI Agents disclosed that no meeting or gathering was held.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached herewith.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

F B I

Date: 7/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

*HJM*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8 )  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
 RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, 3/30/70.

On 7/23/70, the following information was received  
 from \_\_\_\_\_ (SF T-22)

On 7/23/70, BPP National Distribution Office, San Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Material Shipped     | BPP newspapers   |
| Quantity             | 3500   |
| Destination          | Winston-Salem, N.C.  |
| Shipping Information | to arrive 3:16 p.m. 7/23/70,<br>unknown airlines, shipped to<br>WILLIAM RICE |
| Airbill Number       | Unknown  |

12 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 RNB/pae  
 (5)

*EX-112*  
 REC 85 105-165706-8-244

9 JUL 29 1970

54 AUG 19/0

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RNB:kan

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but, whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.

F B I

Date: 7/16/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

~~SECRET~~  
 TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7618) (C)  
 SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

REC-77

4  
5  
10

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES  
 FORT BRAGG, N. C.

RM - BPP

~~Black Panther Party~~

105-165706-8-219

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 6/19/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM in captioned matter, suitable for dissemination. Copies of LHM have been locally disseminated to military intelligence and Secret Service agencies.

The information from Captain HORAN was contained in MIG report furnished Charlotte by the Bureau on 5/26/70.

105-165706-8-196 GCU

1/2 D 50 SEC. SERV.: AGENCY:

DEPT: ISD HOW FORW: DATE FOR BY:

RHC

All information in LHM was handled by SA [REDACTED] 2/43

[REDACTED]  
 ENCLOSURE REC-77 EX-117  
 1 - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 11)  
 2 - Charlotte  
 (1 - 157-7618) (1 - 157-618)

105-165706-8-196

4 JUL 18 1970

REC-14

RHC: dmm

54 AUG 10 1970

Classified by:  
Exempt from automatic declassification

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Sent

RACIAL TENSION

S8 1300

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Priority)*

CE 157

In view of the fact that the four subjects in this matter are active duty soldiers assigned to Fort Bragg, North Carolina and under the jurisdiction of the military authorities who are aware of their activities and of the information in LHM, no further investigation is being undertaken by the Charlotte Office. Their activities will be followed with military authorities and in the event any pertinent information is received, such information will be furnished the Bureau in appropriate communication.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 16, 1970

X

X see p. 5 for  
Lead up.

[REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES  
FORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On May 26, 1970, Captain ROBERT J. HORAN, Security Officer, United States Army, John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance, advised information was received from [REDACTED]

Captain HORAN stated the information was that on May 6, 1970, [REDACTED] four unidentified Negro soldiers who stated that they were members of the Black Panther Party and did not identify themselves other than that they were from New York and Connecticut. The four alleged Panthers [REDACTED] had received information [REDACTED]

a result of comments made during racial seminars held at Fort Bragg.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY. IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

105-165706-8-242

ENCLOSURE

RE: JAMES A. GALLOWAY; VERNON C. HARMON;  
PHILLIP MARSHALL HILL; HAROLD COLEY SIMS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] The meeting reportedly  
was to induce black soldiers from the 18th Airborne Corps and  
Special Forces to revolt against the army.

[REDACTED] The Panthers also indicated that unidentified arms were being brought into the Fort Bragg, Fayetteville, Spring Lake area. The alleged Panthers also indicated that a large rally was being planned for the Fayetteville City Park during the first part of June, 1970, and Panthers from all over the nation were planning to attend. The Panthers indicated that their goal was the overthrow of Fort Bragg with force and the overthrow [REDACTED] of the United States Government.

[REDACTED] furnished the following information:

During January, 1970, the Department of the Army directed Inter-racial Seminars which commenced in the 6th Special Forces and other units at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The seminars were held at various places on the reservation with the approval and knowledge of unit commanders.

[REDACTED]  
He believes that the primary purpose of the seminars was to evoke the grievances in order that solutions could be derived, thereby eliminating or minimizing the racial tension in the United States Army.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 3

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

The source related to his knowledge there is no Black Panther Party chapter or Black Panther organization in existence in the Fayetteville-Fort Bragg area. The source advised he could define a Black Panther as any Negro who believes in achieving the aims set forth in the Black Panther platform. The symbol of the "black power" evidenced by a clenched fist has been universally adopted by most blacks, and the clenched fist is associated with the Black Panthers. He stated any Negro can proclaim himself to be a Black Panther even though he does not belong to the Black Panther Party.

On May 29, 1970, subject [REDACTED] and subject [REDACTED] were arrested on armed robbery charges by the Sheriff's Office, Cumberland County, North Carolina. On the same evening the

██████████  
██████████  
██████████  
**BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES**  
██████████

Sheriff's Office raided the trailer at McNeal's Trailer Park, Spring Lake, North Carolina, and arrested ██████ as a material witness and as a deserter from the United States Army. Earlier on May 29, 1970, subject ██████ was arrested by military authorities as a deserter.

On June 17, 1970, ██████, Post Stockade, advised that ██████ and ██████ were presently in custody at the stockade. On the same date ██████ Cumberland County Sheriff's Office, advised that ██████ and ██████ had been indicted by the Grand Jury on armed robbery charges and were presently in the Cumberland County Jail.

On June 30, 1970, ██████ 111th Military Intelligence Group, Fayetteville, North Carolina advised that ██████ had been transferred to Vietnam, reporting date being July 22, 1970, at Oakland, California.  
██████████

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105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 6

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APPENDIX

1

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revclt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 16, 1970

Title [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVISTS  
PORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference Memorandum made at Charlotte, North  
Carolina, dated and captioned as  
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

Contact with source in above referred to communication  
has been insufficient to develop information from which  
a determination of his reliability can be made; however,  
source was in a position to obtain and report reliable  
information as set forth in above referred to communication.

5  
clp  
TENNYSON  
Mr. [REDACTED]  
Mr. [REDACTED] 29  
Miss [REDACTED]  
Miss [REDACTED]  
Miss Gandy

NR003 CE PLAIN

240PM URGENT 7-28-70 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8 AND CHICAGO  
FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

3  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS.

3-  
[REDACTED]

ON JULY TWENTY-EIGHT INSTANT, [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A GREEN CHEVROLET STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] AND AN OLDSMOBILE STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] ARRIVED AT WINSTON SALEM, N. C., BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS, ONE SIX ZERO TWO EAST FOURTEENTH ST., AT APPROXIMATELY NINE THIRTY TO TEN A.M. EIGHT OR NINE NEGROES, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, WERE IN EACH CAR. NONE WERE IDENTIFIED AS BEING LOCAL INDIVIDUALS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHICAGO IDENTIFY ABOVE ILLINOIS LICENSES DETERMINING OWNERS CONNECTIONS WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND CONTACT APPROPRIATE SOURCES TO DETERMINE REASON ANY INDIVIDUALS IN YOUR AREA WOULD TRAVEL TO WINSTON SALEM, N. C., REGARDING BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MATTERS.

END PAGE ONE

EX 105 REC 32 105-165706-8-242  
2 JUL 30 1970

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

CHARLOTTE CONTACTING APPROPRIATE SOURCES.

END

WJM FBI WA AND HOLD

CC I.R. TOWER  
JULY 26 1968 CED

F B I

Date: 7/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

*jh*

Re New Haven airtel to Bureau dated 7/17/70.

Referenced airtel sets forth information from [REDACTED] (NH T-12) that on 7/9/70 [REDACTED], BPP, New Haven, was in contact with [REDACTED] re the NCCF, Winston-Salem, N. C. [REDACTED] indicated he had talked with [REDACTED] (phonetic) and reached an understanding.

It is noted that [REDACTED] has reported that [REDACTED] was in Winston-Salem, N. C., on 7/9/70 and 7/10/70 accompanied by unidentified individuals. These individuals were not known to be members of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C.; and the name [REDACTED] has not been reported as being a member at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LEADS:

EX 105 REC-87 105-165706-8-241

NEW HAVEN AND SAN FRANCISCO

Review information available from informants and advise the identity of the [REDACTED] mentioned by [REDACTED] as reported by [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - New Haven (RM)
- (2 - [REDACTED])
- (1 - [REDACTED])
- 2 - San Francisco (RM) (157-1204)
- 3 - Charlotte
- (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)
- (1 - [REDACTED])

12 JUL 28 1970

RACIAL INT/SEC

K JTHG:rep

(10)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*Via \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Priority)*

CE 157-6171

CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will maintain contact with appropriate sources to determine if, in fact, a [REDACTED] (phonetic) is active in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area.

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

**SECTION CHARGE - EVALUATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION**

NRCC CE PLAIN

JUL 1 1970

649FII NITEL 7-26-70 JMC

## TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-7710)

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. M. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. C. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. G. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. C. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. J. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. C. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs. S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. R. om \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY, HIGH POINT, N. C., FIVE  
P. M., JULY TWENTYSIX, SEVENTY, BPP- RM.

RALLY TO ORGANIZE HIGH POINT CHAPTER OF BPP SCHEDULED FOR  
TODAY WAS CANCELLED DUE TO PENDING TRIAL OF ALLEGED BPP MEMBER.

NEXT.

## **ADMINISTRATIVE:**

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS

JTJ FBI WASH DC

ST-106

REC-84

105-165906-8-240

JUL 28 1970

52 JUL 4 1970

F B I

Date: 7/7/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
 RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/5/70.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed  
 by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and observation by  
 Special Agents of the FBI during June, 1970.

Organization and Status

National Committee to Combat Fascism  
 1602 East 14th St.  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Members

| <u>Assigned</u> | <u>In Jail</u> | <u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u> | <u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|--|
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|--|

12

0

0

12\*

REC-57

105-165706-8-239

2-Bureau (RM)

2-San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)

2-Charlotte

EX 106

18 JUL 9 1970

THG:cvs  
(6)Approved: RR/MS Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

55 111 30 1970 Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

\*This includes KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS from the west coast and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA from New Haven who are temporarily assigned at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LeadersCentral Staff

LARRY DONELL LITTLE  
Captain of Defense

WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE  
Lieutenant in Charge of BPP Newspaper  
Distribution

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.  
Field Lieutenant

TERESA THOMAS, aka Slack Thomas  
Lieutenant in Charge of Finance

DAVID BOWMAN  
In Charge of Headquarters and appears to be permanent Officer of the Day

JULIUS CORNELL  
In Charge of Panthers in Training

BPP Pads, Charlotte Division

1602 East 14th St.  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
(Panther headquarters, however, members reside there 24 hours per day).

940 Cleveland Ave.  
(Apartment of WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE and visiting Panthers reside with him).

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

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CE 157-6171

Public Appearances of BPP  
Members Within the Charlotte Division

There were no public appearances of BPP members noted within the Charlotte Division during the month of June, 1970.

PART II

The following is a summary of BPP activities within the Charlotte Division during June, 1970:

The group at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to regularly receive the BPP Newspaper which they sell on the street at Winston-Salem, N. C. Numerous articles have appeared in the BPP Newspaper referring to various situations at Winston-Salem and are critical of the local city administration, PD, etc.

The split within the group, which occurred during the last of May, has taken away some of the leadership and financial capacity of the group. According to one source, financial problems are so great that the full-time Panthers started eating only one meal per day. This has caused some members to become dissatisfied over the lack of food, clothing and rigorous discipline and drop-out.

One night a week the group has "political education classes," wherein non-members are invited. The breakfast program has been discontinued, however, Panthers are attempting to get children in the area of headquarters to play at the headquarters which they call a liberation school.

F B I

Date:

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KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, both on assignment to Winston-Salem from other areas, have not emerged to a strong position of leadership and their exact functions have not been determined. HARRIS has reportedly been transferred to New York or New Jersey, but is still in Winston-Salem.

MIRANDA has been in Winston-Salem part of the time, however, was observed by Special Agents at New Haven, Conn., attending the trial of [REDACTED]

The group at Winston-Salem chartered a bus taking 29 people to the BPP rally at the Lincoln Memorial on 6/19/70.  
[REDACTED]

JUNE HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff, was reportedly in Winston-Salem on 6/6/70, exact purpose unknown.

According to sources she was in all likelihood going to drum up attendance at the June 19 rally at Washington, D. C.

4

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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F B I

Date: 7/17/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - FINANCES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, and others, dated  
6/17/70.

The following information set forth is concerning BPP activities in North Carolina and their financial situation. There is only one branch, which is located at Winston-Salem, N. C., and operates under the name Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Headquarters are at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

#### A. Sources of Income

There are no membership dues or assessments. Sources report that some contributions are made by individuals outside the BPP; however, their identities and the amounts have not been established. A portion of their income comes from the sale of newspapers. It is noted that [REDACTED] (SF T-22) reported on 6/10/70 that 2,000 papers were to be sent to Winston-Salem the following week and after that maybe 2,500 - 3,000 papers per week. [REDACTED] has reported that each member is required to sell 50 papers per week at 25 cents per paper and thereafter turn the money (\$12.50) back in to headquarters, with WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE being in charge of newspaper sales. On 6/4/70, a parcel [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)

2 - Charlotte

THG:rep

(5)

REC-39 105-165706-8-237

JUL 18 1970

51 JUL 30 1974 WJL

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ MRA/MS/MT/STK

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Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]  
containing pamphlets on the Ideology of the Black Panther Party by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Part I. The number or amount for which they are to be sold has not been determined. During June there were no fund-raising activities as such or public events where collections were obtained, and there are no committees which have been formed to raise funds.

On 6/4/70,

[REDACTED] reported that KATHY THOMAS, later identified as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS, was given \$600 expense money and left on 6/3/70 with [REDACTED] a Marine Corps deserter, for Winston-Salem, N. C. Method of travel was not given, however, did occur as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS did arrive in Winston-Salem, N. C., and [REDACTED] was arrested at Winston-Salem, N. C., by BuAgents.

In summary, the group's income for June would be approximately \$500 per week or \$2,000 from newspaper sales plus \$600 brought in by KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

[REDACTED]  
One-half of their newspaper income would have been remitted to BPP Headquarters, or \$1,000.

F B I

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(Priority)CE 157-6171  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] As this is a weekly expense, it would appear that approximately \$100 per month is spent on freight on the newspapers.

[REDACTED]

There are no salaries or known skimming by members; however,

full-time members of the BPP group at Winston-Salem are considered to be full-time workers and are supported by the group. They receive no salary as such but their clothes, food, and other expenses are paid by the Party.

In connection with travel to Washington, D. C., 6/19/70, for the Black Panther Party rally at the Lincoln Memorial.

- 3 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

**D. Operations**

TERESA THOMAS is considered to be the Lieutenant of Finance having taken over from NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.; and they are believed to be the individuals responsible for the handling of funds and records.



During June, no information was received as to the means or method of transfer of funds; and it is noted that, according to sources, expenditures at Winston-Salem, N. C., are by cash. According to sources, records are most likely kept at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C., but this cannot be positively ascertained.

**E. Miscellaneous**Income

|                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Newspaper sales (approximation) | \$2,000.00        |
| From Newark, New Jersey         | 600.00            |
| Total                           | <u>\$2,600.00</u> |

Expenses

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Transportation of Newspapers<br>(approximation) | \$ 100.00 |
|---|-----------|

- 4 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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Expenses (Continued)

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Shipment of Pamphlets                           | \$ 10.25   |
| [REDACTED]                                      | [REDACTED] |
| Electricity                                     | 15.00      |
| Cost of newspapers remitted to<br>San Francisco | 1,000.00   |
| [REDACTED]                                      | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED]                                      | [REDACTED] |
| Total   | \$1,654.73 |

Not included in these tabulations is money spent for the upkeep of the members due to the fact that amounts are unknown. In addition, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA traveled from Winston-Salem, N. C., to New Haven, Connecticut, and returned to Winston-Salem, N. C. The method or cost of this are not known.

F. Action

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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CE 157-6171

Continued efforts will be made on SAC authority to interview minor figures and members of the group at Winston-Salem, N. C.

- 6 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

|                             |                  |   |                      |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---|----------------------|
| REPORT DATE                 | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE  | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD |
| CHICAGO                     | SAN FRANCISCO    | 7/13/70   | 5/12/70 - 6/26/70    |
| TITLE OF CASE               |                  | REPORT MADE BY  | TYPED BY             |
| (BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)) |                  | SA [REDACTED]   | dh                   |
|                             |                  | <b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b>  |                      |
|                             |                  | RM; SMITH ACT OF 1940;<br>SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY;<br>REBELLION AND INSURRECTION |                      |

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED]

5/28/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified "Confidential" to protect sources whose identification or compromise could affect the national defense of the United States adversely.

SEARCHED  
INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
FILED

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED |       |      |       |         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN:   |
|-------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|--|-------------|--|
| CONVIC.                 | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES                               |             | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO               |
|                         |       |      |       |         |  |             | PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

APPROVED MM/1SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

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- (2) - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

105-165706-8-236

REC-39

2 JUL 15 1970

E-115

REC-64

|   |                                   |                |       |           |                      |
|---|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|----------------------|
| Dissemination Record of Attached Report |                                   |                |       |           |                      |
| Agency                                  | AGENCY: ACSI - FBI, OSI, SEC, SER | DEPT: ISD: EXP | DI: 4 | IRS, STDU | DATE REC'D: 10-11-70 |
| Request Recd.                           |                                   |                |       |           |                      |
| Date Fwd.                               | DATE FORW: JUL 16 1970            |                |       |           |                      |
| How Fwd.                                | HOW FORW: RC                      |                |       |           |                      |
| By                                      | BY: MM/12                         |                |       |           |                      |

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Klan Unit

COVER PAGE

GPO : 1968

CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

| <u>Identity</u> | <u>Location</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| [REDACTED]      | [REDACTED]      |

NY T-66, NH T-12, SF T-16 and SF T-22 are technical installations authorized by the Attorney General of the U. S.; and any information obtained from those sources, if to be made public, will have to be introduced by the Special Agent of the particular office having made the pertinent transcript.

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. (SA [REDACTED])

B  
COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

C\*  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE  
Date: July 13, 1970  
Field Office File #: 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8  
Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis: Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) recognized by BPP and was visited 6/11/70 by ROOSEVELT HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff of BPP. A KATHY THOMAS was reportedly sent to Winston-Salem, N. C., from Jersey City, N. J., and identified by [REDACTED] as KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS. The group continues to receive newspapers and to be in contact with other BPP groups.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND  
DECLASSIFICATION

AF 157-6171

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

57-6171

I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES  
AS EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY LEADERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DE 157-6171

The following article appeared in "The Black Panther," the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party, published at San Francisco, California, in its issue of July 4, 1970:

# ONE OF OUR MAIN PURPOSES IS TO UNIFY OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE NORTH WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SOUTH



The favorite historical tactic used by the exploiter against the exploited, the master against the slave has been, and continues to be the age-old tactic of divide and conquer. Throughout history, we can see that this has been done to bring about, and insure the enslavement of one group by another, one class by another, one nation by another. We can see that this was done to us in Africa. The slave traders played tribe against tribe, region against region and in so doing, brought about the situation he desired. The colonization of Africa, and the slaves to serve as cheap, no-cost labor for plantation owners in the Southern Region of America.

When we examine history, we see that during different struggles of people for their freedom, you have different occurrences of this tactic, of divide and conquer. We can see that in our situation, Black people in racist Babylon the enemy has used class differences to divide us, and there-

fore, keeps us enslaved. House nigger against the field nigger, Joe college nigger against the street nigger (lumpen), light-skinned niggers against the dark-skinned niggers and finally the "so-called goodniggers" (responsible leaders) against the "so-called bad niggers" (revolutionaries). They have always used lackies and bootlickers against the people, as a buffer zone between them and the angry masses that threaten their greedy existence. The form that this genocidal tactic of divide and conquer is taking at this time is to divide the Vanguard Party, the people's Party - the Black Panther Party away from the masses of Black people. This is the political form; geographically they are trying to keep our brothers and sisters in the North from uniting with our brothers and sisters in the South. They, the oppressors, are doing this, because they know if there is unity between the North and South this sham game will come to a deathly end. They are trying desperately to keep our brothers and sisters in the North herded together in the urban cities, in centralized, highly explosive areas, from coming together with our brothers and sisters, who are living in wretched conditions, in the rural areas, and small cities of the South.

In this final stage of revolutionary struggle, we find ourselves in a life or death situation. The pigs are planning to commit mass murder (Genocide) against us. This situation that we face, that threatens our survival, that threatens our very existence, has to be met with a political "plan of action, that smashess the enemy's tactic of divide and conquer - that unites the whole people, and brings an end to the existence of the enemy.

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We see that our people are no longer confined to a certain geographical area, (the South). We see that we are spread through the confines of racist America. We see that once we were confined to a certain area, exploited and oppressed in the foul clutches of slavery. We fought our way out of this lower form of slavery, we expanded and migrated to the North, believing the lying lips of

the abolitionists that "a better life" awaited us. We moved North, but became entrenched in a different, higher form of slavery based not on land, but in the factories. This is called capitalism. So now we see that we are struggling in all parts of the country, in all sectors of the economy, on all fronts in this society. If we understand that, then we can understand that nothing is isolated, the struggle isn't just happening in the North, in the cities, in California, in the South, that the struggle isn't just happening in the courts, in the schools, in the factories, that the struggle doesn't just involve the Black Panther Party, and Black people, that the struggle is happening everywhere. Because the conditions and basis for a revolution exist everywhere in racist Babylon. We can see that it is necessary for the whole people to rise up against the oppressor, the enemy, and smash him into non-existence. We can see that we can never allow the enemy to force us to think in terms of the part, and place primary focus on the part, to localize the struggle, to regionalize it, to confine it to a certain area. We should always think and act in terms of the whole, the whole country, the whole people, the whole problem, the whole solution. We must do it this way, simply because this is the only way to get total and complete liberation for our people.

As we begin the final stage of this revolutionary thrust, we see it having its beginning in the South, where the conditions and the people were the most backward. As this was happening, we can see the enemy trying shrewdly to confine the struggle to a certain area, to keep it from spreading to the rest of the oppressed masses, the majority, the whole people. We see them trying to tell us that the people are fighting conditions that are particular to their own town, their city, their region. We see them

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telling us that these conditions do not exist where we live. We see the enemy trying to stop the people from recognizing the conditions that exist among them in their area. They try to stop us from being the whole. The enemy bides his time, tries to check the revolution, the struggle, in an effort to brainwash and condition the people. So that when they do react, they will move in the manner in which the oppressor programmed them to move. The enemy defines the problem, the enemy passes out the information, creates opinion, says what is good, what is bad, what he will accept and what he will not tolerate. This has happened to us, while we watched; and when we did give resistance (CORE, Freedom Riders, Liberals, SNCC, we didn't come with new ideas, we did not come with revolutionary ideas. We went with the program and plan of action given to us by the enemy. The same program he was using to stymie the struggle, in an effort to push the movement along in a passive, and politically backward fashion. When the oppressor, accomplished that, he shamed out the whole integration, civil rights pick bag on the people.

Then there was a new development. We see Malcolm X, we see him speaking in the idiom of the people we see him saying that we cannot allow the enemy to define our struggle, to develop our programs, to run our struggle. We see the enemy again becoming worried, we see the enemy more and more using his lackey minister from the South and bringing them into the North, you see them people around the enemy's promoting non-violence, civil right gram and expect to succeed. So

passivity. We see Malcolm defeating this attempt by the enemy to use his lackies, to stop a Black man, who could and would unite the whole people around truly revolutionary principles. The lackies could not silence Malcolm. The enemy had to silence Malcolm themselves, they placed guns in the hands of some bootlicking niggers and shot Malcolm down. Before Malcolm died, he predicted the rebellions that did occur in the urban areas of the country. He planted the seed of revolution in the hearts and minds of the people. He spoke of self-defense, instead of non-violence, self-determination, instead of dependency on the enemy and the gun as a basic tool of liberation. He also spoke of the need of a truly revolutionary organization that spoke and acted in the people's interest. At this point, emphasis of the struggle switched to the North, as Malcolm had predicted, nothing the enemy did could stop it. His old tactic was failing. Black people were now truly moving for their freedom. Niggers rebelled in the streets, they were met by cries of "be cool", they were met by "the war on poverty", a tactic they used to keep the concept of self-defense from spreading, against the whole.

The civil rights movement expanded out of the South, into the North and failed - because they tried to organize the people around a program that wasn't drawn up by the people. They were pushing the enemy's program, and you can't organize the people around the enemy's programing non-violence, civil right gram and expect to succeed. So

we can see that Malcolm planted the seed and the product of that seed is Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. We see the Party developing on the West Coast, the last geographical area that Black people migrated to. We see the Party grow, expand and develop throughout the West, Midwest, throughout the East Coast. We see the pigs trying, in the beginning to confine the Party on the West Coast, but failing. They failed because the Party was based on true revolutionary principles. We see them failing to divide the people from the Party, we see them trying to lie, to confuse the people but we see them failing. We see the Party working in the cities, expanding its base, serving the people, setting examples for the people to follow, teaching self-defense to the people. If you make an analysis, you see the Party being successful in our attempts to spur the people to action, we see the pigs failing in their attempts to annihilate the Black Panther Party. So we find ourselves struggling as a Party, but recognizing that we are always concerned with the whole, we find ourselves at the crossroads, at the enemy's last attempt to divide and conquer, his attempt to keep us from broadening our struggle to encompass the South.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Doug Miranda  
Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15 [57-617]

II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM OR  
POLICIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CF 157-6171

None.

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CF 157-6171

III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CE 157-6171

On [REDACTED] reported it was determined that [REDACTED] had just returned from a trip to [REDACTED]. The exact purpose of the trip was not known but [REDACTED] did say that the "cracker students" were helping the Black Panthers in the North. By "cracker students" [REDACTED] means white students. [REDACTED] had in his possession a Black Panther Party newspaper that he had obtained somewhere during his trip. [REDACTED] stated that there was some good information in this paper particularly about organizing self defense groups, but he said that such a self defense group would have to practice because you just cannot read a book and know how to do something, comparing it to driving an automobile in that you cannot learn to drive a car by reading. From the conversation, it did not appear [REDACTED] knew of any self defense groups in the Charlotte, North Carolina, area and was merely making this statement in connection with the article.

On [REDACTED] was again commenting on the article in the paper which concerned the making of Molotov cocktails and this article also contained instructions for making homemade hand grenades by using an aerosol can.

According to [REDACTED] there is no known Panther group at Charlotte, North Carolina, and [REDACTED] is not known to be a member of the BPP.

The following article appeared in the "Black Panther," in its issue of July 4, 1970:

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# WINSTON SALEM LIBERATION SCHOOL

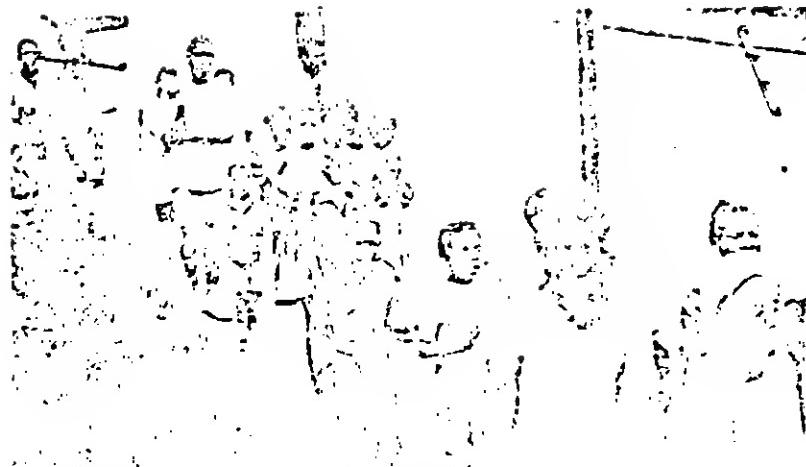
"We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society."

As members of the Black Liberation Army, we are the Vanguard Party of the masses. Therefore, we should help our people and protect them by any means necessary.

We realize that our people have been under oppression for over 400 years. Our people are hungry and without clothes, without decent housing and without knowledge of the nature of our struggle. When the people from the community come to us for help, this is good; we say right on, to that, because that is what we're here for, "to serve the people". We must remain humble servants of the people. As they says, "we are oxen, to be

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ridden by the people", and we are going to be ridden down the path of a people's revolution.

We say that our people and our youth in particular should be educated, to the nature of our struggle. So what do we do? We implement Liberation School from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. every day Monday through Friday; and political education classes for the community on Tuesday night from 7:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The lunch program is now functioning here in Winston-Salem. It started June 15, 1970, we had approximately 40 kids and they responded beautifully. The young warriors are learning and taking the concept of the 'Big Family' (so-

cism) as their own, and will spread these ideas in the community. We must continue to let this beautiful thing go on. We have to hold fast and educate the youth because the Youth Make the Revolution.

Most of us will not live to see the end of the revolution, but our one comforting thought is that the youth will do as we have done in the name of the Revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE YOUTH

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

David Rowan

Cynthia Criss

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-6171

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted], [redacted] a political meeting was held at the BPP headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the main speaker was LARRY LITTLE who talked to the group from the surrounding community concerning "oppression of the pig forces of the city." He spoke at length concerning a new constitution to be written by black people in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, this fall.

/ [redacted] reported on [redacted] that LARRY LITTLE, mentioned above, was a new captain of defense of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism.

N.C.

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OF 157-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM

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WFO 157-6171

On June 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] BPP National Circulation Manager, was in the New York area setting up more efficient distribution system and while there, had a number of leaflets printed, some of which were sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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UE 57-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

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CE 157-6171

*Re: 157-6171*

On June 4, 1970, NK T-8 reported that a female Panther, known to [REDACTED] as KATHY THOMAS, from the West Coast who had been working at Jersey City, New Jersey, has been ordered by the BPP to go to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to function as captain of defense of the group at Winston-Salem. Accompanying her will be RICHARD ALLEN CARTER, a deserter from the United States Marine Corps.

In this regard, on June 14, 1970, NY T-66 reported that KATHY at Winston-Salem was transferred back to Jersey City, New Jersey, by the "Chief" (Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD).

It is noted that SF T-16 has advised that on June 11, 1970, JUNE HILLIARD was at Greensboro, North Carolina, and was to later travel to Newark, New Jersey, and then return to the West Coast.

JUNE HILLIARD whose true name is ROOSEVELT HILLIARD is the Assistant Chief of Staff of the BPP and the brother of DAVID HILLIARD.

[REDACTED] reported that JUNE HILLIARD was at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on June 11, 1970, but left "going home." The reason for his visit was unknown to [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] On May 26, 1970, NH T-12 reported that [REDACTED] formerly of New Haven, Connecticut, who had traveled to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, reported that the group at Winston-Salem was hard up for money and equipment and the telephone numbers were 722-4097 for the National Committee to Combat Fascism and 723-5775 for the "Head."

It is noted that on [REDACTED] reported that WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE, lieutenant in charge of the BPP newspaper distribution in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, resides at 940H Cleveland Avenue, where there is no telephone but uses the phone of [REDACTED]

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Date 6/18/701

On June 16, 1970, a check of the San Francisco telephone directory revealed that San Francisco telephone exchange 992-6322 was listed to the Black Panther Party, 1336 1/2 Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

On June 16, 1970, a check of the Oakland telephone directory revealed that Berkeley telephone exchange 845-0104 was listed to the Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

21~~CONFIDENTIAL~~On 6/16/70 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-2861by SA [redacted] :krh Date dictated 6/16/70

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# BLACK PANTHER PARTY LIST OF ALL RECOGNIZED CHAPTERS, BRANCHES AND N.C.C.F.S



National Hdqs.  
Ministry of Information  
3106 Shattuck Avenue  
Berkeley, Ca. 94705  
Office: (415) 845-0103  
Ministry: 643-6705  
(Bay Area)

San Francisco  
National Distribution  
1336 Fillmore Street  
San Francisco, Ca. 94115  
Office: (415) 922-0095  
Distrl 922-6322

## Community Centers

2777 Pine Street  
San Francisco, Ca.  
(415) 346-4013

135 Kiska, Apt 304  
San Francisco, Ca.  
(415) 822-8471

## Oakland

## Community Centers

1321 99th Avenue  
E. Oakland, Ca.  
(415) 636-0944

1690 Tenth Street  
W. Oakland, Ca.  
(415) 465-7089

Boston  
23 Winthrop Street  
Roxbury, Mass.  
Audrea Jones  
(617) 427-9693  
442-0100

Chicago  
2350 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
Bob Rush  
(312) 243-8270

Denver  
3125 Franklin  
Denver, Colo.  
(303) 222-5436

Community Center  
932 1/2 25th Street  
Denver, Colo. 80205  
(303) 534-4010

Indianapolis  
113 W. 30th Street  
Indianapolis, Ind.  
Office (317) 925-4157

Jersey City  
384 Pacific Avenue  
Jersey City, N.J. 07304  
(201) 432-3725

Kansas City  
DISBANDED

Los Angeles  
2043 Stockwell Street  
Los Angeles, Ca.  
(213) 635-2586

Watts Office  
1810 E 103rd  
Los Angeles, Ca.  
(213) 563-2728

Walter "Toure" Pope Community  
Center  
1511 E. 153 St.  
Compton, L.A  
774-5733

Watts Community Center  
2136 E. 113th Street  
564-2728

N.C.C.F. Center  
334 W. 50th St.  
759-4518  
L.A.

New Haven  
35 Sylvan Avenue  
New Haven, Conn. 06519  
(203) 502-7463  
562-8557

New York  
Ministry of Information  
East Coast  
1370 Boston Rd  
Bronx, N.Y. 112  
(212) 328-9911

Harlem Branch  
2026 Seventh Avenue  
New York, N.Y.  
(212) 864-8951  
666-3603

Brooklyn Branch  
180 Sutter Avenue  
Brooklyn, N.Y.  
(212) 342-2791  
458-7538

Community Centers  
45-B East 3rd Street  
Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550  
(914) 664-9468

Corona  
101-16 Northern Blvd.  
(212) 779-0550  
0551  
0552

Jamaica  
E. Coast Distribution  
108-60 New York Blvd.  
(212) 523-9866

Philadelphia  
1928 W. Columbia Ave.  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19121  
(215) CE 6-3358

Community Center  
2935 Columbia Ave.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
(215) 236-3351

Richmond  
520 Bissell Street  
Richmond, Ca. 94801  
(415) 237-6303

Seattle  
173 20th Ave.  
Seattle, Washington  
(206) 324-8818

## NCCF's

Atlantic City Comm Center  
375 N Massachusetts Ave.  
Atlantic City, N.J.  
(609) 345-6361  
Steve Greshem

Cleveland  
4096 E. 139th Street  
Cleveland, Ohio  
or  
2734 Hampshire #302  
Cleveland, Ohio  
(216) 781-3076  
795-6394  
Earnest Watts

Detroit  
2219 Indiana  
Detroit, Mich. 48238  
(313) 868-9836  
Malik

Milwaukee  
1137 North 13th Street  
Milwaukee, Wisc.  
(414) 374-5481  
Raymond Owen  
Hm: (414) 933-5730

New Brunswick Com Cen  
7 Church Street  
New Brunswick, N.J.  
(201) 242-3823

Raleigh House  
2161 Parker Street  
Omaha, Nebraska 68111  
(402) 242-3823

Portland  
3619 N.E. Union  
Portland, Oregon 97211  
(503) 284-4812

Cleveland, Miss.  
1441 Aloe Street  
Cleveland, Miss.  
(601) 843-5601  
Issac Shorter

Washington D.C.  
2327 18th Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009  
(202) 265-4418  
4419

Winston Salem  
1225 E. 18th Street #5  
Winston-Salem  
North Carolina  
(919) 725-7026  
R.T. Greer

Baltimore, Md  
1202 N. Gay Street 21213  
(301) 342-8536

Dover, Delaware  
239 West Street 19901  
(302) 734-5285  
James Reed

CE 157-6171



The following articles appeared in issues of  
the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California, dated  
June 6, 1970, and June 13, 1970, respectively:

**LETTER FROM  
BLACK BROTHER  
IN THE  
FASCIST ARMY**

Brothers, this letter is written from a fellow Black man from Philadelphia, and this letter is to let you know what's happening in the racist army. You already know about the pressure being put on the Black men in the racist military and Black men in the racist United States of America as a whole. Recently, I spoke up for the Black Panther Party against the big power structure in a debate and tried to get the brothers to raise money for Huey's birthday benefit, and they wanted to arrest me for treason. They also tried to claim that I was敬ing Black Power salutes at their so-called flag. They even made me cut my Afro saying it looked out of place. And when I told them I wanted to join the Panthers, and a couple of other brothers, the pigs and their Tommard nigger benefactors begin blew their gear no stacks. Recently a brother from Memphis, the one who spoke out with me, was also hit with a treason charge the same time that I was, but was released with me when the pigs couldn't pick up enough evidence, was framed with a narcotics charge.

The pigs in racist Jacksonville, N.C said he had some marijuua on him. They charged him with a \$300.00 fine and seven months probation with restriction to the base with no leave and no pay, not even to go past the front gate. Now they are trying to give him a dishonorable discharge. There are hundreds of brothers involved in cases like this. But we are powerless to do anything about it. And a lot of brothers are afraid to speak out, because of White back lash. But I don't care, we can't take this lying down. Now is the time for the people to rise up and fight back. Now is the time to strike. I hope to join your Party one day as soon as possible. Because the Black Panther Party movement is the best Black movement that the brothers have going today. Please print this letter so that the brothers and sisters back home know what's going on. And I'll be proud to sign my name to it. Also I'll keep on informing you if the pigs don't throw me in jail. In the meantime let's keep ourselves together and show some Black pride.

**MORE POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

PPC W Jackson 2310895  
Headquarters A-CO  
2nd ANTRAC BN FT. F.M.F.  
ATL.  
Camp Lejeune, North Carolina  
28542

# ~~PIGS~~ HARASS.

On May 24, 1970, Tony J. Rat and Mrs. Bertrice Edwards were by the N.C.P.D. They were seeking help because the pigs, two of them in particular, had been harassing and physically assaulting Tony and herself. These two pigs are named pig GENTRY (WHITE RACIST) and pig D.R. WILLIAMS (NIGGER LICKETY).

Tony and Mrs. Edwards have had three encounters with these pigs. All of them are concerned with supposedly traffic violations. But viewing the situation closely, we see that Gentry and Williams are no different than any other soul, depraved traducers that occupy the Black colony across Babylon. For it was pig Williams that shot James Beasley in the back last year, claiming the brother was trying to escape, after he had been arrested for public drunkenness. Witnesses who saw the attempted murder know that Brother Beasley was much too drunk to walk, let alone make an attempt to escape from two armed pigs.

So, it was in the same fashion that pigs, Gentry and Williams started their campaign of harassment and brutality against Tony and Mrs. Edwards. First Tony was given a ticket for making an illegal turn at an intersection. Next, he was issued a capias (search warrant) for not paying the fine for the ticket. (The money was used to pay his rent and buy food for his family.)

After this they stopped Tony and said he was speeding. This was impossible because the motor in his car was shot, and couldn't do more than 25 m.p.h. These pigs thought that Tony was a Black Panther, because of the bumper sticker he displayed (Support Your Local Black Panther Party) and the first thing they said as they grabbed him from his car

was, "we gonna teach you Black Panthers a lesson." They took his license (which was not returned) and gave him a speeding ticket and took him to jail.

About three days later, the pigs came to Tony's house late at night (KKK fashion) as he and his wife and child were in bed. The pigs came to the door (Gentry and Williams) to serve some sort of capias on him. After gaining entrance to the house, these pigs began to run rampant through the brother's house, these pigs began to brutalize his wife, pushing her and hitting her for no reason other than a show of force. Tony cussed the pigs out and they slinked off into the night.

The final act came when Gentry and Williams came to issue a warrant for Tony charging him with abusive language and assault on a pig. There were seven car loads of pigs. Every one of them racists, but all of them stood back and let the nape-nigger pig perform (Williams hit Mrs. Edwards in the breast with his elbow and twisted Tony's arm up behind his back, while holding the back of Tony's belt and forcibly took him to the pig car. (A pig is a pig, is a pig is a pig.)

They took Tony to jail and placed him under \$1,000 bond. Tony got out on bail and at the trial (legal lynching) Tony was given 65 days in jail. Tony appealed this sentence and came to the National Committee to Combat Fascism for help, and we are assisting the brother and Mrs. Edwards in every way we can.

We are exposing these masquerading victims of unprovoked attacks (Gentry and Williams) to the people and the people will deal with them in a righteous manner.

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem  
Nelson Molloy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# THE MURDER OF HENRY "DICKIE" MARROW OXFORD, N.C.

Henry Marrow was murdered by two racial White people on May 11, 1970. It was a case of murder in the 1st degree. Henry and some brothers were rappin. This racist White woman began going mad, thinking they had said something to her. She, running wild, went into the store owned by John Teel and said, "some niggers were insulting me." Teel and his son, Larry came running out of the store, verbally abusing and threatening the brothers. The Teels had an ax handle as they approached the brothers and by this time everyone had moved back except Henry. Henry had pulled out his knife to defend himself, and at the same time, tried to explain to the two fools that they had said nothing to this White lady. But, the Teels refused to listen and seeing that Henry was going to defend himself, they ran back into the store and came out with a shotgun and a rifle. The brothers began to run and the Teels fired into the crowd of brothers, striking Henry in the back of his thigh. Henry fell and the Teels converged on him and began beating him with the ax handle as Henry lay helpless on the ground. As Larry Teel beat Henry, he turned and asked his daddy what should be done. John Teel handed his son the rifle and told him "kill the nigger bastard." Doing something he wanted to do all along and carrying out the command of his daddy, Larry Teel shot Henry in the forehead from point-blank range.

Also injured in the incident was

William Chavious. William was walking up as the Teels started shooting and was wounded in the shoulder and face by shotgun pellets. When William was hit, he fell to the ground and witnessed the whole thing. There were some sisters who also witnessed the entire event. Also, James Chavious was hidden out of sight and heard the elder Teel tell the younger Teel to "kill the nigger bastard."

Upon hearing of the shooting of her husband, Mrs. Willie Mae Marrow went to the hospital to see her husband. When she got there,

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WON'T BE LONG,  
HON... CHIEF  
CALLED AN' SAID  
I GOTTA GO.  
KILL MESELF  
~NOTHER  
NIGGER!



they refused (doctors) to let her see him. The doctors told her that they had to take him to the Duke Hospital and said she couldn't go because the ambulance was too crowded after she requested to ride with her husband in the ambulance.

At this time the Teels were still

running around free and Mrs. Marrow saw Assist. (Lieutenant Pigs Nathaniel White.) She asked him whether she could take out a warrant for the Teels arrest. Pig White oinked that he couldn't issue a warrant (A nigger has no rights which a White man is bound to respect.) because there is so much confusion that he didn't know who had shot Henry Marrow. It wasn't until the next day that the Teels were apprehended.

Henry Marrow lived at 105 King St., Oxford, N.C. with Willie Mae Marrow and their two children, Tammy Threecall-age 2, and Denise age 14 months. They had been married 19 months. Henry was 23 yrs. old, and a veteran from Vietnam.

When Black people can be shot down for no reason at all, it is time for them to re-evaluate their situation and see that it is time for them to begin to arm themselves. Our fight for survival and liberation must be urged here in Babylon and we must refuse to be a mercenary for a government that doesn't grant you your constitutional rights or profit you and your family from masquerading, racist, KKK dogs.

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem  
FIGHT, Nelson Clalley NC



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"E 157-6171

The following seven articles appeared in the June 20, 1970, issue of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California:

# TOO WRONG FOR TOO LONG

Lackeys, bootlickers, so-called leaders of the Black community are nothing more than endorsed spokesmen. They are jack-n-ape parrots that say only what the oppressors have programmed them to say. The endorsed spokesmen are just as deadly as the oppressor and must be dealt with in the same manner. The endorsed spokesmen are treacherous, deceitful, and spineless dogs, as they are manipulated by the oppressor to teach their people to be fearful and cowardly when faced with the jive that the oppressor is meting out.

Three such buffons are Carl Russell (Board of Aldermen Lewis Ray (Attorney for legal aid So-  
ciety) and George Redd (on the  
police force). These three fools acted  
against the will of the people and  
talked in a crazed manner to the  
people as they were dealing in a  
righteous manner to get the  
avaricious A & P store located  
in the Black community to meet  
the demands of the Black com-  
munity.

As the people had gotten together and were picketing this capitalist exploiter of the community, along comes mad dog Russell in his big black Cadillac checking out the scene. He jumped up in a sister's face and oinked, "Y'all are silly." The sister said, "You are supposed to be OUR Alderman." And the fool replied, "Why don't you run for Alderman", as though anyone would want to be co-opted into such a decadent society. Then along comes Ray, who is also supposed to be a servant of the people. He goes into the store and buys a carton

of drinks (Pepsi-Cola one of the biggest exploiters of the whole world). Upon leaving the people approached him explaining that they were attempting to show the avaricious dogs that own and operate A & P that they could not exploit Black people and continue to exist in the Black community. This running-dog, flunkie of the power structure stated "Y'all are being oppressed, I ain't being oppressed." This is what is known as a spokesman for the Black community -- otherwise known as F-A-C-L. And to this simpleton, the people say, you can continue to oink, we are no longer listening to you, punk. And as no surprise to anyone, Redd comes up while off duty and says he is only gonna buy a few items. But when he leaves the store, it looks as though he was trying to make up to this capitalist, the money that A & P had lost, when Black people refused to patronize his exploitative enterprise.

Despite the actions of these scabbiest napes, the people's picket line was 95% effective. But to those fools, who feel that they are not being oppressed, to those dummies who feel as though they are in some type of prestige position to those school teachers that say that their feet hurt and they can't go to another store because of their stinking feet, the people can only say—repudiate the oppressor and crawl back to your people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

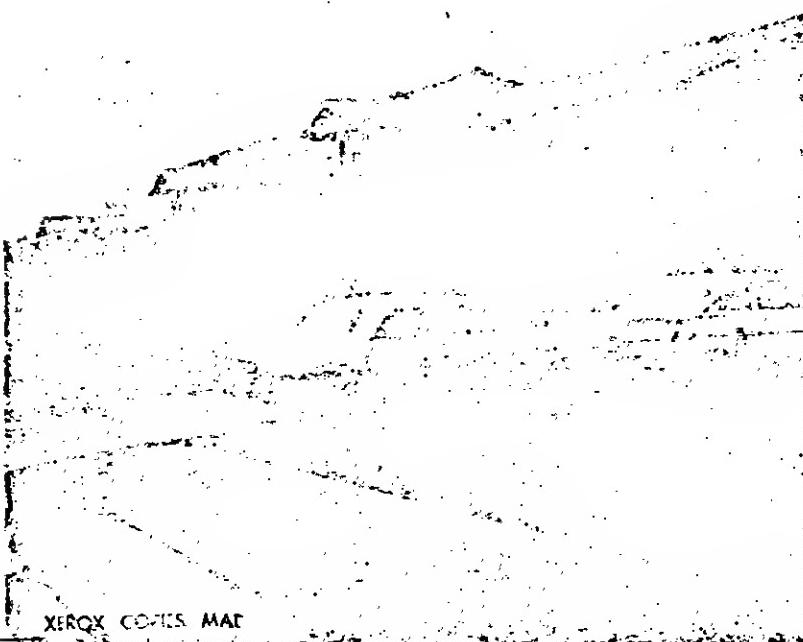
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE,  
DOWN WITH FLUNKYISM

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Nelson Malloy

# RACIST SLUMLORDS OF WINSTON SALEM

In the month of January 1970, the landlords of Winston-Salem in the Colony Place area of the city which starts at 9th and Cleveland and Highland Avenue and extends to 12 1/2 on the East side of town, sent notices to all tenants in Colony Place concerning the increase in rent. The apartments are already renting for \$75.00 and \$80.00 for one and two bedrooms respectively. The apartments are not really worth \$10.00 a month so we see that Perrell Realtors are nothing but capitalists, with ideas of making profits for the best interests of

oppressor has no rights which the oppressed are bound to respect. If the landlords don't supply the people with decent housing, with fair rents, then we say that the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives, so that the community with aid from the government, can build decent housing for the people. This is just one of the basic necessities of life which we have a right to. We see you as denying the people of that right, you're nothing but a bloodsucking beast and the tenants of Colony



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## COLONY PLACE

themselves and not for the betterment of the condition of the people that pays their rent.

We're saying that until Perrell Realtors lowers the ridiculous prices and cleans up these rat infested houses, foul electricity and plumbing fixtures, we'll pay him exactly what he deserves and that is-- NOTHING. The laws were broken when you rented the apartments which were built in less than a month's time, and going up on rents before the loan was paid off. So we see you as a lawbreaker.

What we say to that is, "the

Place are tired of their blood being sucked by such an inhuman beast. The only blood that will be sacrificed will be the blood of your neck and all other beasts like you. We will no longer sit back and do nothing while you raise the rent against the people's will. The house should be in the hands of the people, because that's who they belong to.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Winston-Salem, N.C.  
Rice

# WE WILL RUN THE CAPITALIST OUT OF OUR COMMUNITIES

**note:** Due to the excessive lies that have been spread by the racist mass media about the boycott of the A & P stores in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the National Committee to Combat Fascism conceives it to be our duty to get the correct information out to the people about the boycott of the A & P stores in Winston - Salem. The National Committee to Combat Fascism along with all the beautiful people from the Black community who are participating in the boycott are asking people of Winston-Salem and people throughout this racist country of Babylon to not to shop at any A & P stores until the just demands of the people are met.

In November of 1969, Mrs. Afford received severe injuries to her hand while shopping at the A & P store on Bowen Boulevard. On this particular day there was one of the usual five-time sales or jelly in a large barrel. Mrs. Afford simply reached down into the barrel to pick out a jar of jelly and received a very badly cut hand from broken up jelly jars hidden in the barrel. Mrs. Afford has been out of work from November 1969 to this present day, June 8. The A & P management refused to compensate Mrs. Afford one dime for their negligence of responsibility. Mrs. Afford decided to take her case to the courts, but as we well know, the courts are non-functional for Black people because niggers have no rights that racist cracker courts are bound to respect. The case was simply thrown out of the courts.

Also, Mrs. Joyce Henderson who was formerly a cashier at the A & P on Bowen Blvd. was transferred out of the Black community to the A & P store in the White community, mainly because she re-

fused to exploit her people and be a showcase nigger for the A & P management. Also Mrs. Henderson couldn't get along with the White racist manager (she would not be a lackey for him), and as a result she was told that one of them had to go and so this Black woman was transferred out of her community. The people of the Black community are demanding that Mrs. Henderson be transferred back to A & P on Bowen Blvd and given her previous position of cashier.

The Black community is also demanding: That a Black manager be hired immediately to manage the A & P store on Bowen Blvd. This manager must be accepted by the Black community.

That A & P make acceptable contributions to such needed community programs as Free Breakfast for Children Program and Free Lunch Programs.

That the percentage of Black employment correspond with the amount of trade done by Black people (approximately 95%).

That the prices of items at the A & P stores in the Black community be placed at such a level that the Black community from the 11th Street Bottoms to the Norwood estates can afford, and that the very best of foods be placed in the stores in the Black community.

Recognizing that A & P stores make millions off the Black community weekly the National Committee to Combat Fascism and the people of the community feel that these are very modest demands that we make. Most of the demands have been presented to

# FOOD STORES



## BLACK PEOPLE OF WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., BOYCOTT AVARICIOUS A & P GROCERY.

the A & P management never and refuse to shop at the A & P months earlier but the demar seemingly fell on deaf ears. several people of the community along with the N.C.C.F. decide to go behind closed doors a figure out how we were going to deal with these capitalists and came up with a very intelligent decision and that decision was based on the idea that when people's demands are ignored, as if the people have no right to demand, then it's time to use our power to disrupt--the power to throw a nigger wrench into the capitalist machinery. So early Saturday morning people from the community and members of the N.C.C.F. got together and made signs that were going to be used for the boycott. It was really beautiful to see the people turn around

store. Several people of the community brought their cars to help take people shopping to other stores in the community. Several people of the community who had originally come to shop at the A & P but saw what was happening not only decided to turn around but also went home and prepared sandwiches and drinks for the community troops participating in the boycott. The spirit of the people was really something beautiful to behold. The boycott was near perfect but as always you will have a few bootlicking fools. But these bootlicking niggers small-time trade was not enough to offset the nearly \$8,000 worth of trade that A & P lost that day. These niggers proved themselves to be NOT leaders (they were supposed

community leaders) of the people to freedom but bought off storefront, backwater jerks. While it was the brothers (the lumpen, the bad bloods from the bottoms) that did honor the people's picket line and did not shop in the store that proved to be truly committed to the people's struggle. The masses of the people honored the boycott and to the people who participated in the boycott this proves without a shadow of a doubt that the demands are righteous. So the question is now posed clear and simple to the A & P management and that is the question of EITHER/OR - Either you make the A & P relevant to the needs of the Black community or GET OUT.

"We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black community."

SIEZE THE TIME  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Larry

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# THE LABOR QUESTION

On the contradiction between capital and labor, we here in Winston Salem find ourselves in the position where bloodsucker R.J. Reynolds is wholly in control of our lives and destiny. (This is the same

logy has to offer, for ourselves and our loved ones. Here in Winston Salem, as well as in all of Babylon we still find ourselves in the unique position where we are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

The very nature of capitalism is where big businessmen (in this case R.J. Reynolds) are paying the lowest possible wages so that they make the highest possible profit. We slave endless hours for R.J. Reynolds yet are still forced on many occasions to work two jobs to support our families and dependents while R.J. Reynolds happily sits back and counts the millions we Black people produce. We make dollars for R.J. Reynolds yet receive pennies for ourselves.

So we are faced with a question, "Are we going to wait until the few pennies R.J. Reynolds throws us, gets too few after pay day or will we seize the time and tell R.J. Reynolds and the rest of the blood-suckers, up against the wall this is a stick up. "We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK  
PEOPLE!  
SEIZE THE FACTORIES  
BECAUSE OUR LABOR MAKES  
THEM PRODUCE!

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Cain



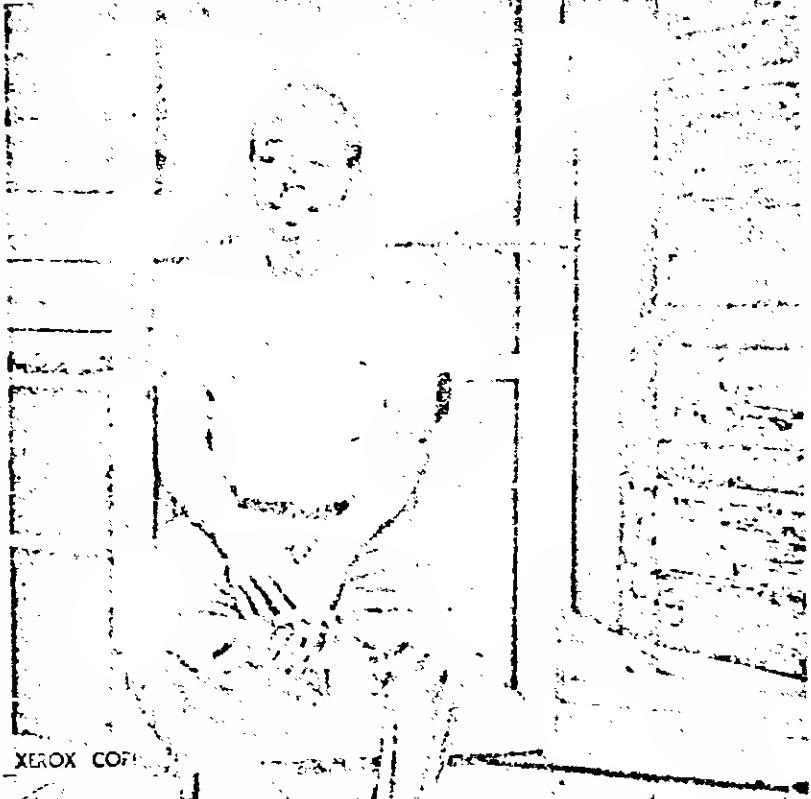
R. J. Reynold's Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, NC company that makes metals for bombers and tanks and tools of war). Number one of our Ten Point Platform and Program states that: "We want freedom, we want the power to determine the destinies of our own Black community." A point expressing the desires to all Black people caught up here in the midst of America to be able enjoy the best that human techno-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# AMBULANCE SERVICE OR GENOCIDE

Black people have been the constant victims of the genocidal practices of this racist country called the U.S.A. for over 400 years. Death has been our companion since we first got to the shores of this country and today, nothing has changed. A premeditated death greets us at every turn, this is known as a genocidal plan to ex-

was refused ambulance service because he didn't have \$20.00, the fee charged to take a person to the hospital. While investigating the situation, which is a common occurrence, it was learned that after the ambulance was called it got there an hour later. The attendants, both racist Whites, thinking of nothing but money,



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## NOVELL DURANT REFUSED AMBULANCE SERVICE FOR LACK OF \$20.00.

terminate an entire race of people, whose services are no longer needed. This plan is carried out in many devious ways and others not so devious. Sometimes one has to look closely at a situation to know what's really going down, On May 25th, 1970 Novell Durant

something they had been trained to do, failed to investigate, when if they had, they would have known that Novell had a clinic card which entitled him to free ambulance service. But seeing there was no money to rob the blood of, they simply left the brother lying

in ~~the day~~ suffering, saying they weren't taking him anywhere unless he paid them \$20.00. In other words they were saying, "Die Nigger Die".

But Novell got to the hospital anyway. But dig on this, the hospital that he had to go to was about five miles away from where he lives. There is a hospital in the Black community, but the Welfare Department assigned him to a hospital way out near the city limits, hoping the nigger would die before he got there. A Black man can see that these practices are nothing more than part and parcel of a total plan of genocide against Black people.

The plan becomes very clear as you look at the following facts:  
Novell Durant stays at 215 W. 10 1/2 St. with his step-father, Frank Joyner. Both men are disabled. Novell is an epileptic and Mr. Joyner has a number of disabling ills that keep him from working. They are both on welfare. Novell is supposed to start receiving a check within the next two weeks and his step-father gets just enough to pay rent. It is necessary for him to find other means of obtaining food because the welfare department refuses to give him more money for food. They told him to take a full examination to see if he is totally disabled before they give him anymore money. Novell's mother is at Black Mountain Sanitarium, a hospital for people with tuberculosis. Novell had gone to the hospital before some time earlier in the month at which time the doctor instructed him to stop taking medication for his epilepsy. The moment he got back home Novell had a seizure before he could even get into the house.

After talking to Novell he told me that the doctor (Dr. Tucker at Forsyth Hospital) told him he had a case of pneumonia developing. The doctor gave Novell some medicine and sent him home.

N.C.C.E. Winston-Salem  
Nelson Malloy

CON

# TO PARENTS - WHOSE CHILDREN ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NATIONAL SALVATION

Since the inception of the Black Panther Party in 1966, young people (19 and under) have been the workers and driving force of the people's just struggle for liberation. Our youth historically have been the activists from the early days of our struggle, they have been the first ones on the picket lines, the first ones to demonstrate, the first ones to bring up their grievances, the first ones to say "That's not right". They have gotten up at 5:30 a.m. to feed hungry children, they have been the teachers in the liberation schools, they have also been the leaders when the struggle reached the level of taking to the streets in Watts, Detroit and Newark. We must protect our youth, our leaders of the people's struggle at all costs. For their participation in the struggle, they have been thrown in jail, beat up, vicious police dogs put on them, high pressure water hoses turned on them and murdered as was the case of Li'l Bobby Hutton. They are even attacked in their homes by their parents. They have been thrown out of their homes, they have been cursed by their parents and labelled as troublemakers, disrespectful and just plain bad.

When you begin to talk in derogatory terms about young people, we ask you remember this--the pigs are not arresting us in Southeast Asia, they are not shooting up projects and killing Black women and babies in Vietnam and Cambodia, they are not blowing up innocent Black children in other parts of the world, they are committing these atrocities here in

Babylon, right here in the Black community.

Mothers and fathers you have listened to the T.V., the radio and you have read the newspapers, but you have not listened to your children run down the 10-Point Platform and Program. You have not walked out of your doors to the Free Breakfast for School Children centers, to see what your children are trying to do.

Don't listen to the tool, press of the power structure, come and find out for yourself, and when you see the tremendous war machine that is working against the beautiful work your children are trying to do, you will be very glad to stand up and take an active part.

Don't sneak into corners when your children shout "All Power to the People". Don't hide your face and put them off with empty rhetoric when they ask you to help initiate socialistic programs that will accommodate all poor people. Support our youth in the struggle, which is in fact, your struggle.

For you parents that are forever saying "I'm going to pray for that child"--remember that prayer is good--but if Fred Hampton was murdered while he slept, in his own bed, just think what can happen to you, while you are on your knees, facing that bed. Listen to the youth and follow their righteous examples, because the youth is our salvation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
SUPPORT OUR YOUTH  
Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Kathy

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ACTIONS -- NOT NOTICES

"We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings."

About a week ago notices were posted on the apartments on Bruce St. (In the city of Winston-Salem, North Carolina). The supposed purpose of the notices was to inform the residents that the housing in which they have been living for years is unfit.

The city fathers know who the people are that they should prosecute, the people who put these houses up for rent and refuse to repair them, (the slumlords). So as a measure of pacification, they have the housing inspectors post these notices to make the people think that the city had done its part. The truth of the matter is, they haven't done their part. If the housing isn't fit for the habitation of human beings, then why doesn't the city erect housing that is? And if they don't want to do that, they should make sure that the slumlords do so.

The slumlord in this case is Balwin. This realty rents houses all over the city--unfit housing. It must be made clear that he is committing a crime. His crime is profiteering off of the suffering of our sisters and brothers who live in these houses. It is a crime to subject a child to rats. It is a crime to deprive a human being of a decent place to live, and then charge them excessive rents.

Whenever we commit an act that the city labels as a crime, we are immediately arrested. Whenever a brother runs a store to feed his

hungry children, the pigs will not only arrest him, but beat him, because he wanted to feed his family. This basic necessity of food is denied to him because he has been denied the right to work and produce. Alright then, based on principles, which is more fundamentally correct, a man who takes some from those who have plenty to feed his kids, or a man who keeps people in unfit houses with rats, leaking faucets (sometimes no faucets at all), roaches and high rents so that he (the slumlord) can live in luxury? Which is more important--a child eating, or a man being able to own billions. Who is the real criminal?

Now who does the city arrest and take to jail, and beat? Certainly not Balwin, he would arrest that brother for trying to gain a basic necessity to feed his children though. But what we are saying is to arrest Balwin for having houses unfit for humans and for not fixing them. He is the criminal, but the city inspector won't have him arrested. Until he (Balwin) is arrested we don't want him putting up notices telling us what we knew all the time, the houses aren't any good, we know that crap. Tell us what you are going to do about it and then do it. IT'S ACTIONS WE WANT--NOT NOTICES!

DOW: WITH THE SLUMLORDS OF  
WINSTON-SALEM

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Harry Black

NC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-6171

The following two articles appeared in the  
June 27, 1970, issue of the "Black Panther" at San  
Francisco, California:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# BLACK MAN RATERROADED TO GAS CHAMBER--WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

Point No. 9 of the 10-Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party states that "We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black community as defined by the Constitution of the United States." We have been and are being tried by all White juries that have no understanding of the 'average' reasoning man of the Black community, Point No. 8, "We want freedom for all Black men held in Federal, State, County and City prisons and jails." We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

On May 21, 1970, brother Franklin Vance a 36-year old Black man of Winston-Salem was sentenced to death in the gas chamber by pig judge Walter "Hog" Crissman for the alleged raping of a 13-year old Black girl, Sister Janice Jones. There has been evidence given to show brother Franklin Vance's innocence or his guilt. What we want to do, is expose this racist judiciary system for what it really is, because whether this be a political case or not,

Franklin Vance's rights were violated and he was definitely railroaded to the gas chamber by eleven White racist southern cracker's and one very old anglo-negro which definitely doesn't make up a jury of Franklin Vance's peers.

We, the members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism know that a lot of people get "upright" when we step forth boldly and demand the immediate

release of the Black man even though he has been sentenced to the gas chamber for allegedly raping a little 13-year old Black girl. But we would like to say to the people of the Black community of Winston-Salem and the Black communities throughout Babylon that we recognize that this is a case which involves only Black people but we cannot accept the legitimacy of the so-called intermediaries of the racist judiciary system (the judge and the racist jury). Black people cannot accept the legitimacy of this racist body because to do so we would have to

## ~~FRANKLIN VANCE~~

accept this racist dehumanizing decision of these fools. Black people throughout this country must see this decision as an attack on all Black people and not just on brother Franklin Vance. It is an attempt to strip us of our human dignity and decency because this dehumanizing decision simply means that Franklin Vance is guilty of raping a 13-year old Black sister and therefore he should be pun-

ished to the full extent because he is not the ~~best~~<sup>or</sup> mentally disturbed and therefore is an average reasoning man from the Black community and that there is nothing abnormal about this man because his actions are indicative of the average reasoning man of the Black community.

The Black community should see this decision as an attempt to dehumanize all Black people and justify the oppressors enslavement of Black people, to justify keeping us as so-called second-class citizens (in this nowadays and time, second class citizenship simply means that we are twentieth century slaves). This is the very same procedure that the European pigs used to justify taking us Afro-Americans away from Africa, raping our Black women and confining us to the plantation (which now is called the Black community).

The Black community must at all times and by any means necessary challenge the legitimacy of this racist judiciary system, we must recognize that the courts are no longer and have never been functional for Black people, therefore it is high time that we quit relating to the courts and take the struggle to the streets, because the streets belong to the people and people will always have self-rule and justice in the streets.

FREE FRANKLIN VANCE  
FREE ALL BLACK PEOPLE  
FROM FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem  
Larry Little

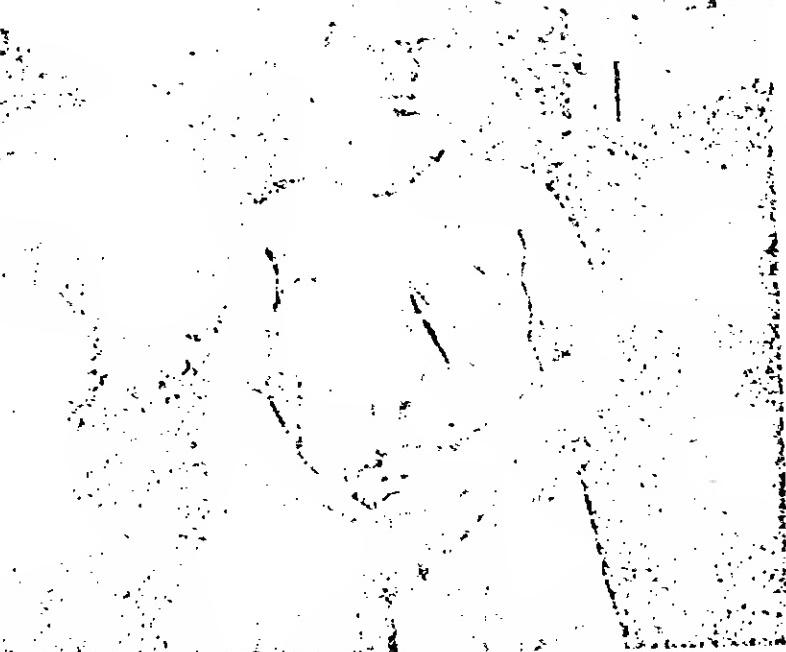
# Mrs. Allford, Victim Of A&P Racism

Mrs. Allford, victim of A & P management racism, has no insurance to cover her doctor bills, incurred since cutting her hand in November, 1969. She has no money of her own, so she called the manager of the store, who told her to do this if she needed any help, and the measley dog said he couldn't help her.

When Mrs. Allford sued the store for negligence the judge threw the case out of court before the jury brought back a verdict.

her medical expenses, because she hasn't worked since November and she is still unable to use her hand. The doctors are telling her that the hand hasn't healed right, because there is more glass in it and she has to have an operation. If she does not have this operation she is in danger of losing her whole arm. Before she can receive this operation she has to have \$300 to cover some of the back medical expenses.

There is nothing else to say. We know that a couple of hundred



**MRS. ALLFORD VICTIM OF A&P,  
FASCIST COURTS AND RACIST HOSPITALS**

It is obvious to the people that the courts aren't for us from jump street, it is made for those with money and A & P certainly has enough because they rob us of thousands of dollars every day.

To further illustrate this point, Mrs. Allford's lawyer wants her to appeal the case to a higher court. Not only does Mrs. Allford not have enough money to pay the lawyer to do this, she can't even pay

dollars is nothing to A & P, whereas it means a limb from Mrs. Allford's body. Who is right in this case, who is to blame? We say that A & P mismanagement, racism and total oblivion to Black people's problems is to blame.

**DOWN WITH ALL EVIL GENTRY**

N.C.C.B., Winston-Salem  
Hazel Mick

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(RE 157-6171)

The following article appeared in the July 2,  
1970, issue of the "Journal," a daily newspaper published  
at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Carver Community Wants Changes at Food Store

By David DuBuisson  
Staff Reporter

The movement to boycott the A&P store on Bowen Blvd. was not, as it first appeared, a spontaneous operation of the Black Panthers.

The activity became visible Saturday, June 6, when pickets appeared at the store, urging shoppers to go elsewhere. The boycott was effective that day, by agreement of the store manager, participants and policemen who kept an eye on things.

The scene was repeated the following Saturday, but the pickets have not reappeared. Observers in the Carver community—the store's market area—estimate that the store felt a substantial loss of business for a week and a half. Some regular customers continue to stay away.

The pickets gave out leaflets listing six demands:

1. That Mrs. Sara Alford, who was injured in the store last fall, be compensated by A&P.

2. That a cashier, Mrs. Joyce Henderson, be returned to her job. (Mrs. Henderson had recently been transferred to the A&P at Northside Shopping Center as a produce clerk.)

3. That a Negro manager be hired for the Bowen Blvd. store.

4. That the A&P contribute to Black Panther programs for feeding poor children.

5. That the store employ Negroes in proportion to its Negro trade.

6. That the store carry higher-quality foods, at prices "that the black community can afford."

It is now apparent that at least one of the points, a Negro manager, had been under negotiation for at least four years between the Carver Civic Club and the A&P. The store's customers are virtually all Negroes, and it is the only supermarket in the area.

The Carver Club, whose more than 200 members span the

economic extremes of the black community, has regarded the management as the key to solving all other sources of friction between the community and the store.

A club spokesman said yesterday that early in their dealings with the club, A&P officials had seemed receptive to the idea. Their first response, he said, was that qualified black candidates were not available.

Their second was to transfer a Negro from eastern North Carolina to be assistant manager of the store. It was privately understood that the new man, Willie J. Medlock, was being groomed for the top job.

However, Medlock remains assistant to E. H. Varner, the white manager.

As optimism faded among Carver residents, other grievances about the store gained prominence.

Separate conversations with several relatively affluent Carver people, for example, reveal a pervasive feeling that Bowen Blvd. customers are denied the more choice foods.

The meats tend to be lower grade—and cheaper—and the produce limited to the more mundane varieties, said one housewife.

Others have complained that prices are occasionally higher than what is charged for the same items at A&P stores in other parts of the city.

Members of the Carver club have protested periodically that advertised bargains are not available at the store.

They seem to have great confidence that a manager who lives in the black community would be more sensitive to such complaints.

There is the added feeling that a Negro in charge of the store would be symbol of pride for the community and an inspiration to Negro youngsters.

A&P officials locally are hesitant to talk publicly about problems at the Bowen store. They do deny steadfastly that prices vary from one A&P to the next in the city. And they defend variations in the stock

A  
News  
Analysis

from store to store as a simple case of supply adjusting to meet demand.

The feeling within the Carver Civic Club heightened with the transfer of Mrs. Henderson. A club spokesman explained that many were convinced that she was penalized for her membership in the club.

A&P officials have countered by maintaining that the change from cashier to produce clerk was not a demotion (there was no pay cut) and that a transfer from one store to another is within the company's prerogatives.

Mrs. Henderson lives within walking distance of the Bowen store, but not of Northside.

The issue of Mrs. Alford's injury apparently was unknown to the Carver group until the Panthers appeared on the scene. A lawsuit filed by her against A&P was dismissed in District Court June 3.

On June 4, the Carver club

met to discuss schools, but the meeting was dominated by discussion of the A&P and, specifically, Mrs. Alford.

Two days later, the pickets appeared.

In their wake emerged fundamental differences about goals and tactics between the Panthers and the civic club. Some community spokesmen feel that residents who otherwise might be sympathetic to the boycott have avoided it out of dislike for the Panthers.

Rodney Sumler, the new president of the civic club, said yesterday that he is creating a committee to resume negotiations with the A&P. He said the basic issue at stake remains a Negro manager, but that Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Alford are of concern to the club.

Sumler said that the Panthers will be free to have a representative on the committee, but said the approach will not be militant. "We're not

trying to run the (A&P) out of the community," he said. "It's needed, and it's convenient."

But, he added, "The club wants to meet the problems head-on now . . . we've been working behind the scenes for so long."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(S) 167-6171

The following articles appeared in the July 4, 1970,  
issue of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California:

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## LIAISON OFFICERS -- ANOTHER SYSTEMATIC MEANS OF EXPLOITATION

Since 1965, Winston-Salem has had its Anti-Poverty programs on the scene to help keep the people of Winston-Salem pacified and confused. These different programs have maneuvered the people into believing that the government has some interest in the welfare of our Black people.

One program that has been implemented under the Anti-Poverty program of the government here in Winston-Salem is the Liaison Police Officer, Liaison meaning Interrelationship, intercommunication between parts of an armed force, and contact to ensure cooperation, in other words meaning nothing but a bunch of Karangatangs for the pigs.

The general description of duties of these niggers are: The lackey will assist the pigs in his public surveillance activities and also act as a liaison agent among the police-men, youth groups and vocal groups in urban areas. In the general description the racist government

made sure they said urban, because they know that Black people cover the majority of the population in the urban areas, and the White folk live in the suburbs. The specific description of duties of the bootlicking niggers also include:

1. Assisting the pigs with on-the-job clerical duties such as writing traffic tickets.
2. Assisting the pigs in the surveillance of business and industrial establishments during hours when not regularly occupied.
3. Maintains surveillance of downtown entertainment centers.
4. Answers requests for assistance in local neighborhoods to help beat Black people's heads. (This is easily done because the trailers are located in the Black community.)
5. Participates in all activities of the pigs athletic league.
6. To signify at meetings of different groups in the community, and inform the pigs, also to talk about career opportunities within the pig force.
7. Assist pigs to maintain torture and brutality against our people doing public demonstrations or marches.
8. Investigate reports of civil disobedience in urban ghetto areas and interprets the behavior of groups involved in public demonstrations to the patrol officers.

These nigger liaisons have joined the fascist pigs to help pacify, terrify, torture and murder our people by giving the pigs information concerning Black people, that will have the pigs almost in complete control of our communities.

So we the people of Babylon are saying to you Piglet Liaison that: When it's time for the barbecue, you will roast too.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.  
Black

# ~~PIGS PLAY~~

## IN DECEIT

### POLITICAL PRISONERS FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

Some time ago the Black Panther Party initiated a drive that had the interest of the masses at heart. This drive or program concerned itself with the release of political prisoners (Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale) in exchange for Prisoners of War (POW's). The Black Panther Party and all other revolutionary organizations can readily see, without hesitation, because of their political awareness that all political prisoners and prisoners of war are one in the same, and there is no difference between the two.

The Black Panther Party has always said like Bobby Seale that "To be a revolutionary is to be an enemy of the State, and to be arrested for the struggle is to be a political prisoner."

Political prisoners, people who have resisted the pig power structure and have been arrested for their activity are nothing more and nothing less than prisoners of war. We state this condition emphatically because, Black people after having suffered such a long train of abuses have had no other alternative but to strike out at and resist this dehumanizing society.

The capitalistic, exploitative system which we live under deserves nothing and can be expected to produce nothing but resistance and ultimately revolution. To engage in revolutionary activity, that is, bringing about total change and destruction of a decadent society and constructing a new and more humanistic one is the job of a revolutionary.

Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, the New Haven 9, the N.Y. Panther 21, the L.A. 16 and Chicago 16 and hundreds of other revolutionaries are in prisons all across Babylon at this time. These revolutionaries were captured and jailed because they were actively engaged in the righteous struggle of liberation for Black people within Babylon. At the same time racist mercenaries are being the aggressors on the people of Vietnam, a people that are striving for self-determination, the same as Black people in the U.S.A. These mercenaries are being ripped off and captured by the Vietnamese for intruding on the soil of the Vietnamese people and destroying human lives and heaping destruction on the land.

The Black Panther Party and the people want their freedom fighters released from jail. Therefore a drive was started to get the immediate release of the people's

events from jails. Contacts could be made with North Vietnam to set up machinery to exchange their captured POW's for the political prisoners held in jail in Babylon. The masses of people were to send the names of relatives believed to be POW's to the Black Panther Party and the Party would in turn send these names to North Vietnam and things would be materialized from there. Due to the threat that our imprisoned brothers and sisters posed to this vulgaristic system, the drive never got rolling.

Rennie Davis and Dave Dillenger were to go to North Vietnam with these names, but were refused passports to travel abroad by this racist government because it didn't want these lumpen niggers (Huey and Bobby), members of the Vanguard Party, armed with the ideology (teachings) of the Black Panther Party and able to put it into practice to bring the masses revolutionary political power, back on the streets and educating the masses to the correct strategic methods of resisting the pig power structure.

The Party, dedicated to serving

the people, started this drive, but it was stopped by the pigs. The Party knew the pigs would never let such a program go into effect but it would be an educational process for the masses.

Now, at this present time when pig Nixon is expanding his imperialistic war machine into other countries in Southeast Asia, the domestic imperialistic forces at home (National Guard) of North Carolina have started a program to fool the people and make the people think that they have the people's interest in their pig hearts. These domestic storm-troopers are circulating petitions throughout North Carolina asking for the people to "Show your concern for our Americans in POW camps in North Vietnam" and sign the petition. A lot of people fail to see the hypocrisy of this sham attempt by the pigs. People of North Carolina and other states, do not be fooled by this deceitful act of these mad pigs. Your sons and husbands will remain prisoners as long as Nixon continues his aggression in North Vietnam and occupation of the Black colony.

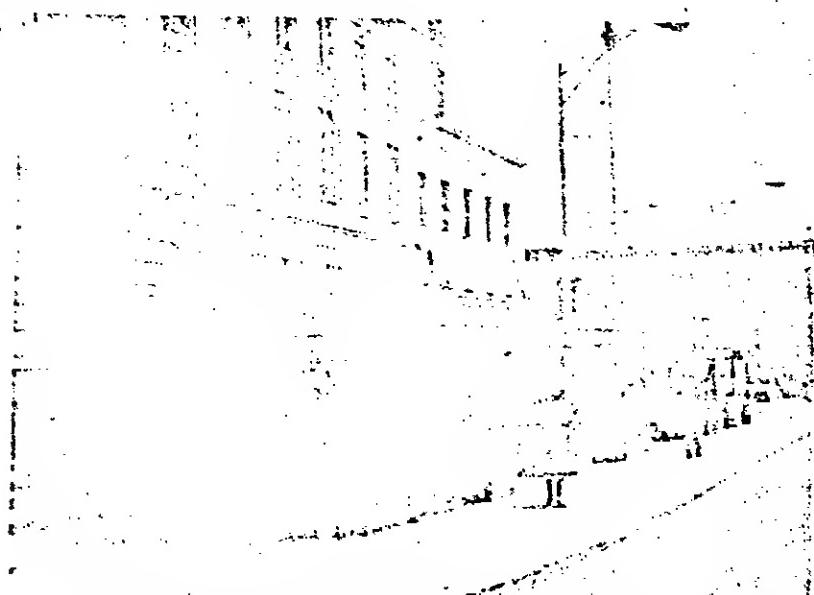
## NATIONAL GUARD IN N. CAROLINA HAVE STARTED A PROGRAM TO FOOL THE PEOPLE

POLITICAL PRISONERS  
FOR POW'S!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Winston-Salem CCF  
Nelson Malloy

CONFIDENTIAL

# SAFE BUS COMPANY, A VENTURE IN BLACK CAPITALISM

Pig-hearted Nixon came forth with a jive scheme called 'Black Capitalism'. Black capitalism is supposed to enable Black people to be fully absorbed into the mainstream (decadent cesspool) of American life. Blacks who are politically uneducated cannot see this maneuver as nothing more than an exchange of White exploiter for Black exploiter. They can't see that Black capitalism will only benefit a few Black people, while the masses still sink lower and lower into the mire and rot of a corrupt, dehumanizing society that is doomed for destruction.



PEOPLE HAVE TO WAIT FOR HOURS FOR  
A BUS THAT GOES INTO THEIR SECTION  
OF TOWN

In Winston-Salem, there used to be two bus companies, one owned entirely by Black people and the other owned by the City. The bus company owned by the City phased out because Whites don't ride buses like niggers do. After the City company folded, the entire City had to depend upon Safe Bus Co. for transporting people to and from different areas of the City. In the beginning Safe Bus Co. charged reasonable fares to ride their buses. Their service was never what it could have been, but since niggers have taken over the service, they have gone crazy.

The fares have gone up tremendously and the service that they are supposed to render to the people has decayed to such a point that people have to wait for hours for a bus that goes into their section of town. In an attempt to prove that niggers could run something, they have acted in a crazy manner, they hijacked - up the fares in order to run and extend the service to the White community. Black people are the ones that have borne the brunt of this additional capital to extend this additional service to people that very rarely ride the bus.

So we see that in this case Blacks are being exploited by Blacks. Safe Bus Co. is the only Black-owned

bus company in the country. It is exploiting the masses of Blacks for the benefit of a few. It becomes crystal clear that in the final analysis a death dealing blow to one capitalist is just as effective for any other. Safe Bus Co. is taking more money and rendering less service. The bus company doesn't return any of this profit to the community and therefore shouldn't be allowed to continue to exist.

#### ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem  
Nelson Malloy

**CONFIDENTIAL**

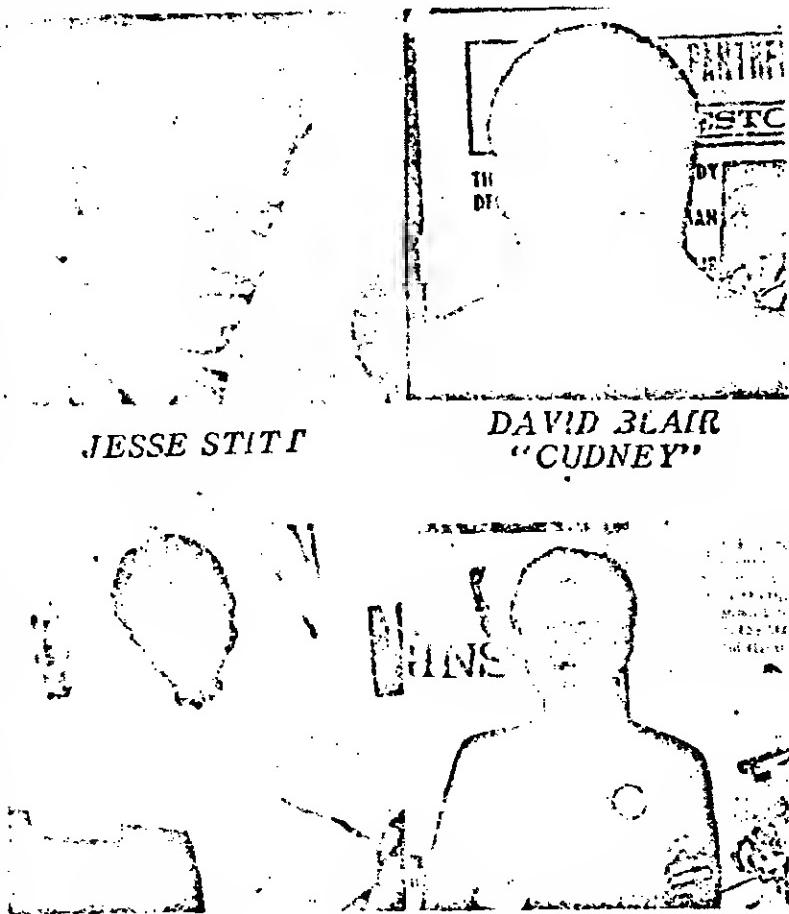
## PURGE

### WINSTON-SALEM, N. CAROLINA.

It's time to intensify the struggle. In these days and times when this United States government is moving into open fascism, when brothers and sisters are facing the electric chair, when brothers and sisters can be shot in their beds asleep. In these days and times when fascist repression is coming down, it is a mere necessity for survival that we put our heart and soul into the righteous Black Liberation Struggle. The pigs are plotting night and day to come up with some fascist plan to deal with us niggers. So that we recognize that the only way that we can combat this ever increasing fascist repression is to also work night and day. We must simply run ourselves to death to educate the people and organize the people so that they will rise up like a mighty storm and deal with all of these balloon pigs who are enslaving us.

The decision was made by the organizers of the N.C.C.F. in Winston-Salem, North Carolina to reduce to community workers all those who worked part-time in the N.C.C.F., and as long as they kept their jobs they would stay community workers, but with the understanding that through their social practice they could be reinstated as members of the N.C.C.F.

Some of the people who had been reduced to community workers couldn't accept this very necessary move to tighten-up and cleanse the N.C.C.F. of certain undesirable elements. As a result they decided to get their walking



JESSE STITT

DAVID BLAIR  
"CUDNEY"

ROBERT GREER

FEY SWITZER

papers, it must be understood that these people were not kicked out of the N.C.C.F., rather they quit on their own accord. So let it be heard the following people are no longer members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Winston-Salem, N.C.:

Robert Greer, Jesse Stitt, Faye Switzer, Jackie Peoples, David "Cudney" Blair

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

12/14/67  
Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

CONF

## JUDGE A. LINCOLN SHERK

In the last week June 16, through 19th, 1970, the people of Winston Salem have witnessed the most ridiculous form of injustice here in our city by the racist Judge A. Lincoln Sherk.

It is very obvious to see by the cases stated below that Judge Sherk is a racist, and is very prejudiced in his so called administering of Justice.

On June 17, 1970, a brother Lee O. Kirby was sentenced to serve 30 days in the County Jail. Kirby, an 18 year old student at North Forsyth High School (predominately white) was charged with simple assault, on May 29, he pleaded guilty.

After hearing the evidence against Kirby, Judge A. Lincoln Sherk began to enter a judgement by which the youth would serve his 30 days on weekends. Racist dog Sherk then changed his mind and sentenced Kirby to serve a straight 30-day sentence. He accused Kirby of having given him a dirty look after hearing the original judgement.

To pig Sherk, the racist punk, all Black people have dirty looks. One June 19, 1970, a sister, Pamela S. Niven, 17, was charged with disorderly conduct in a public building. After a 90 minute District court trial, racist dog judge Sherk found sister Niven guilty and gave her a suspended 60 day jail sentence, a \$50.00 fine and put her on probation for three years. Miss Niven and other students were protesting the school board decision to purchase 27

trailer classrooms to various county schools to which Blacks will be transferred next year as part of the system's integration plan.

Punk Sherk convicted Miss Nevin based on the grounds that elected spokesman have the right to have orderly, well conducted meetings, no matter how it affects the welfare of our people.

On June 19, 1970, Judge A. Lincoln Sherk threw a drug case out of district court. Defendant Williamson, a White man in his early 20's works at Forsyth Memorial Hospital. A pharmacist testified that Williamson presented a forged prescription for a barbituate-amphetamine compound May 25 at a local drug store. The pharmacist said he had seen a rendition of the same prescription before.

Judge A Lincoln Sherk felt that it was necessary to throw a case out of Court where a person is trying to obtain drugs through illegal means, even though Williamson had been proven guilty.

It has been proven by Judge Sherk's attitude towards Black people, and the way he has his Kangaroo court set up for Blacks that he is another racist pig Judge following the pig foot steps of Hoffman.

As long as Judge Sherk remains here, our people will continue to be railroaded through the courts.

ALL-POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Slack  
Winston Salem  
N.C.C.F.

44-57-6171

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP)  
is attached as an appendix to this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

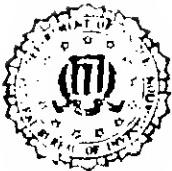
Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

63\*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 13, 1970

Title                   BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character             RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF  
                         1940; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY;  
                         REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Reference            Report of SA [redacted]  
                         prepared at Charlotte, North  
                         Carolina, dated and captioned  
                         as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 7/14/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP  
RM

*AC*  
*J*  
 Re New York teletype to Bureau dated 7/10/70.

On

RAYMOND HEWITT who said he and approximately four others arrived at Black Panther Party Headquarters, Winston Salem, N. C., at approximately [REDACTED] in a blue station wagon used locally by LARRY LITTLE of the Winston Salem Black Panther Party (NCCUF). These people were shown through the Black Panther Party Headquarters and were treated as dignitaries.

[REDACTED] talk scheduled to be given by HEWITT on [REDACTED] HEWITT and those who apparently came with him were to leave shortly after the talk or possibly Saturday [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that one of those in the company of HEWITT was described as follows:

|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| Race:       | Negro                     |
| Sex:        | Male                      |
| Age:        | 23 years old              |
| Height:     | 5 feet 9 inches to 6 feet |
| Weight:     | 165-175 pounds            |
| Complexion: | Dark                      |

REC-51

(2) Bureau (105-165706) (RM)  
 2-New York (100-161993) (RM)  
 2-Los Angeles (RM)  
 2-San Francisco (RM)  
 2-Charlotte  
 DBM:gjc  
 (10)

EX-110

B JUL 18 1970

Approved: 60 JUL 24 1970 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

**Characteristics:** Very well dressed; with mustache and medium size Afro; wearing gold ring with large "diamond" on his left hand; very trim

Another individual in the company of HEWITT was described as follows:

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Race:                   | Negro   |
| Sex:                    | Male  |
| Height:                 | 5 feet 9 inches   |
| Weight:                 | 165 pounds  |
| Age:                    | 21 or 22 years old  |
| <b>Characteristics:</b> | Most noticeable feature was that he had a long head and very Negroid features |

**LEADS:**

Recipient offices will provide photographs of any individuals who might have accompanied HEWITT, especially considering the above two descriptions.

**CHARLOTTE****AT WINSTON SALEM, N. C.**

Will continue efforts to develop further information.

-2-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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\_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-234

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-233

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F B I

Date: 7/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7631)

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
 LINCOLN MEMORIAL  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.  
 6/19/70  
 RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 6/19/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captionned as above, copies of which are being furnished to military intelligence agencies and Secret Service. Two copies each being furnished to WFO and Philadelphia.

CE T-1 is [REDACTED]  
 Winston-Salem, N. C. (PROTECT IDENTITY).

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
**ENCLOSURE**

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (157-3071) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (157-2004) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 9 - Charlotte

(2 - 157-7631)

(1 - [REDACTED])

THG:dmw

(15)

AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU

[REDACTED] SEC SER, 13410.66 GCF

DATE FORW: 7/13/70 1C (VAL 4/6)

HOW FORW:

1C (VAL 4/6)

RECD BY: GCF

REC'D BY

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)  
CE 157-7631-----  
[REDACTED]

Two copies of LHM being furnished Philadelphia for their information as Philadelphia is apparently the tentative site of the BPP Constitutional Convention.

LEADS:WFOAT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Requested to return the [REDACTED]

CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Upon receipt of the [REDACTED]

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 8, 1970

In Reply Please Refer to  
File No.

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JUNE 19, 1970  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated June 19, 1970.

On June 22, 1970, CE T-1 advised that 29 passengers boarded Piedmont Coachbus at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, departing there at approximately 7:00 a.m., June 19, 1970, enroute to the Black Panther Party (BPP) Rally at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] it appeared that LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELL did not go to the rally but stayed behind at the BPP Headquarters at Winston-Salem as they were afraid of a Police raid. Near the North Carolina-Virginia border, two Negro males, driving a late-model green Maverick, passed the bus at a high rate of speed. [REDACTED] this was apparently DOUGLAS MIRANDA. T-1 advised that JEREMY THOMAS and NELSON MAJOLY, along with the Negro called DAVID, who was possibly DAVID BOWMAN, were passengers on the bus.

According to T-1 [REDACTED] on the return trip indicated that the group plans to go to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 7, 1970. The reason or other information concerning this was not given.

On June 19, 1970, [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina, made available a flyer which he had received on June 18, 1970, which is as follows:

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER  
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF  
THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE  
FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY;  
IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE  
DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE /0

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
TO GUARD AGAINST FASCISM

BOBEY SELLE  
CHAIRMAN

HUEY P. NEWTON,  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE

ORGANIZING BUREAU OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1602 E. 14th St.

Winston-Salem, N.C. 27101

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IS CALLING FOR A MASS MARCH AND DEMONSTRATION ON THE LINCOLN MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON JUNE 19TH, AT WHICH TIME THERE WILL BE A NATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE. AT THIS PRESS CONFERENCE, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WILL MAKE A MAJOR ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. JUNE NINETEENTH, OR DAY OF JUVENILES IS THE DATE THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE FREED BLACK PEOPLE THROUGH THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION IN 1863.

THE YEAR IS NOW 1970 AND WE CONTINUE TO REALIZE THAT BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA ARE STILL NOT FREE. IT HAS BEEN MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THE BLACK MAN HAS NO RIGHTS THAT A WHITE MAN IS BOUND TO RESPECT. FROM THE DRED SACKETT DECISION OF 1857 TO THE BINDING AND GAGGING OF BOBEY SELLE IN THE COURT ROCK AND PREPLANNED MURDER IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIR, THERE HAVE BEEN AND STILL ARE BLATANT AND OVERT VIOLATIONS OF THE LEGAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. THIS HAS TO BE ENDED. AN END HAS TO BE PUT TO IT NOW. SO WE CALL ON ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO COME TO WASHINGTON, D.C. ON THE 19TH OF JUNE, TO HELP US ORGANIZE A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. NOW IS THE TIME TO CHALLENGE THE DOCUMENT THAT ALLOWS THE PIGS TO MURDER ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES AND IN THE STREETS. NOW IS THE TIME TO STOP RICHARD NIXON.

RE: RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN  
MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970

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A characterization of the BPP is attached as an  
appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

KK



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 8, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title            RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
                  PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
                  JUNE 19, 1970

Character      RACIAL MATTERS

Reference      Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina,  
                  dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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       Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-231

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date: 7/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIR MAIL

(Priority)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

By: *HJM/Jer* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

Subject: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RJI - BPP

The following information was received from [REDACTED]  
(SFT-16) a highly confidential source, on 7/7/70.

[REDACTED] girl giving her name as [REDACTED] (believed to be [REDACTED] originally from the Berkeley Headquarters Area [REDACTED] of the BPP) contacted Oakland Headquarters of the BPP on 7/7/70. [REDACTED] was discussing the curriculum for the Liberation Schools to be held in Winston-Salem. [REDACTED] commented that they had twenty people at the Liberation School on 7/7/70.

[REDACTED] who [REDACTED] Liberation School Organization for Headquarters, subsequently discussed the Liberation School problem with [REDACTED] said that she mailed material to [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] Winston - Salem. [REDACTED] said there was a ten page list of all the material to be covered in the school for the rest of the summer.

It was not disclosed where the Liberation School was being conducted or who was in charge of the Liberation School work for the Winston-Salem area.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])
  - 4 - San Francisco  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])
- WIC:vg  
(9)

REC-94

105-165706-8-230

B JUL 10 1970

Approved:

*Special Agent in Charge*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M P

197-2861

Attention of the Charlotte Division is called to the Black Panther issue of 7/4/70, wherein several prominent members of the BPP from the Winston-Salem area were listed as purged. This group included ROBERT GREER, former leader, JESSE STITT, FAYE WITZER, JACKIE PEOPLES, and DAVID BLAIR. The article claimed that these five all walked out of the NCCF group in Winston-Salem. It is believed that this reshuffling of the NCCF in Winston-Salem, may have been the result of the visitations of BPP leaders from other areas to Winston-Salem in the recent past.

The above material is being furnished to Winston-Salem for their information as to the current activity in that Division.

F B I

Date: 7/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FEDERAL GRAND JURY  
RM  
SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re Bureau teletype to Charlotte, 6/25/70 and 7/1/70.

Enclosed for San Francisco are pertinent copies of interview report forms of [REDACTED] San Francisco is requested to return same to Charlotte Division air mail special delivery upon completion of use of same.

Enclosed are the following serials:

105-165706-8-22-9

EX-11 REC-72

18 JUL 9 1970

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (RM) (AMSD) (Enc. 16) (157-1204)  
 3 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)

RSS:jat  
(7)

RACIAL INT. SEC.  
INT. SEC.

Approved: 7/10/70 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
5 JUL 1970  
 Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 8 1970

TELETYPE

NR202 CE PLAIN

4:50 PM URGENT 7-8-70 GTH

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

|               |       |
|---------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson    | _____ |
| Mr. DeLoach   | _____ |
| Mr. W. F. ... | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr      | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop    | _____ |
| Mr. Casper    | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan  | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad    | _____ |
| Mr. Felt      | _____ |
| Mr. Gale      | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen     | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan  | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel     | _____ |
| Mr. Sonnen    | _____ |
| Tele. Room    | _____ |
| Miss Holmes   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy    | _____ |

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS.

USMC

[REDACTED], A DESERTER FROM THE MARINE CORPS, WAS APPREHENDED JULY EIGHT, SEVENTY, BY AGENTS OF THE FBI AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., WHERE HE WAS OBSERVED IN THE COMPANY OF TWO MEMBERS OF THE WINSTON-SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM, A BLACK PANTHER PARTY AFFILIATED GROUP. THIS OCCURRED AS AGENTS [REDACTED] OBSERVING OFFICERS OF THE FORSYTH COUNTY SO EVICTING A GROUP OF FORMER MEMBERS OF THE WINSTON-SALEM NCCF FROM AN APARTMENT ON CLEVELAND AVENUE FOR NON-PAYMENT OF RENT. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AT THE SCENE PHOTOGRAPHED THE LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND THE [REDACTED] RECORD NUMBER REC-805-165706-8-228 EVICTION SCENE BUT IT IS NOT BELIEVED THEY PHOTOGRAPHED THE [REDACTED] ARREST OF [REDACTED]

AT THE TIME OF ARREST, [REDACTED] ATTEMPTED TO RESIST BUT WAS APPREHENDED WITHOUT INCIDENT AND DENIED HIS IDENTITY.

END PAGE ONE

66 JUL 16 1970

10 JUL 10 1970

FACE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED] FUDE, RM - BPP. OO:

JACKSONVILLE, AND FD TWO TWO ZERO HAS BEEN SUBMITTED. NO LHM  
FOLLOWS.

AIR MAIL COPIES TO JACKSONVILLE AND NEWARK.

END.

TRC FBI WASHINGTON DC

cc Fug. SUPVR.  
1511

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
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- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-227

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F B I

Date: 6/22/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN STUDENT ALLIANCE  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Director airtel to Albany, 5/18/70, captioned as "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN STUDENT ALLIANCE, RACIAL MATTERS."

Inquiry has been made of appropriate informants, however, no information was received regarding the international student organization formed by the BPP called the Afro-Asian-Latin Student Alliance. In the event information comes to the attention of the Charlotte Office in the future, the Bureau and San Francisco, along with appropriate offices, will be immediately advised.

REC-15 105-165706-8-226

2 - Bureau (105-165706 SUB 8) RM  
 1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (Info) RM  
 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

EX-109

JUN 24 1970

THG:gs  
(5)

Rec'd: JUL 13 1970 Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 6/26/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM - BPP

Re Chicago letter to Director, 6/22/70.

Referenced Chicago letter set forth information from [REDACTED] (CG T-6) received on 6/13/70 that [REDACTED] of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, Chicago, had informed [REDACTED] Deputy Minister of Information of that chapter, that one WADE STEPHANY, 705 Burn St., Apt. C, New Bern, N. C., should be wired \$45 immediately.

[REDACTED] advised that WADE (LNU) from Chicago, brother of a boy who had been shot in a recent jail break from the Craven County Jail, New Bern, N. C., had been in the New Bern area prior to 5/9/70 but left around 5/11/70 and returned and was staying at 705 Burn St. [REDACTED] later identified WADE as being WADE STEPNEY, home address 13352 South Carliss St., Chicago, Ill. [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (105-165706) (Sub 8) (RM)  
4-Chicago (2 - 157-1291) (RM)  
(2 - [REDACTED])  
5-Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)  
(2 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])

THG:mjb  
(11)

REC-51 EX-117

16 JUN 30 1970

Approved: 54 JUL 13 1970 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Copies of the full reports [REDACTED]  
have previously been furnished Chicago.

[REDACTED]

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 6/19/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7631) (P)

RE: RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL  
WASHINGTON, D. C., 6/19/70  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte teletypes, 6/18/70 and 6/19/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies and for WFO 3 copies of LHM captioned as above, copies of which are being disseminated locally to Military Intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

who furnished information to SA

Charlotte will follow and report pertinent developments. DCF-31 105-116206-

**REC-31**

report pertinent  
105-165706-8-224

**2 - Bureau (RM)**

3 - WFO (RM)

11 = Charlotte (3 = 157-7631)

(1 - [REDACTED] (1 - 157-6171) (PPE))

1 -

SCUDE (1 -

1 =

1

THE CASE

118.95

(10) 7

3 JUN 24 1970

1970  
RACIAL JUST. SECT.

51 J08 Approved: 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

June 19, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to memorandum prepared at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated June 18, 1970.

On June 18, 1970, CE T-1 reported that around six members of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Facism (NCCF) are planning on attending the rally June 19, 1970, at the Lincoln Memorial along with approximately thirty other individuals consisting of mainly women and children, who are members of the community and are not actually affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP). According to CE T-1, members of the Winston-Salem NCCF going are to include DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, LARRY LITTLE, ELISON MALLOY, THERESSA THOMAS, DAVID BOWMAN, and JULIUS CORNELL. One of the previously listed individuals may not go as someone must stay at Winston-Salem to maintain security at their headquarters at 1602 East Fourteenth Street.

On June 19, 1970, [redacted] reported that Piedmont Coach Lines bus, bearing North Carolina license

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

RE RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN  
MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970

2410 FA, departed from the Black Panther headquarters, 1602  
Fourteenth Street, Northeast, Winston-Salem, at 7:00 A. M.  
On the bus were eleven males and fifteen females with the  
only individual known to [redacted]  
[redacted] depart being LARRY LITTLE.

A characterization of the BPP is attached as an  
appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

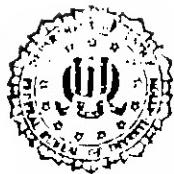
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



1-29-611  
In Rep., Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
June 19, 1970

Title            RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
                 LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
                 JUNE 19, 1970

Character      RACIAL MATTERS

Reference      Memorandum prepared at Charlotte,  
                 North Carolina, dated and captioned  
                 as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 6/22/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161993) (P)

SUBJECT: BPP  
RM

*✓ BLACK PUPILS*  
Re Charlotte teletype to Director, 5/21/70.

Retel requested NYO to contact appropriate sources to determine the purpose of intended travel of ROBERT BAY and BRAD BREWER to Charlotte, NC, on 5/21/70.

The following sources were contacted negatively concerning above:

[REDACTED]  
{NY T-29}  
{NY T-66}

For the information of Charlotte, ROBERT BAY is the Acting Field Marshal of the BPP and as such is in charge of BPP activities on the east coast. In view of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) activity in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, it is possible that the trip may have pertained to that area.

- Bureau (RM)
- Charlotte (RM)
- New York [REDACTED]
- New York [REDACTED]
- New York (#43)

REC-64

105-165706-8-223

:1jm

C  
Appro

1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-165706-8-223

100-165706-8-223

F B I

Date: 6/19/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8 )  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
 RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, 3/30/70.

On 6/18/70 the following information was received  
 from [REDACTED] (SF R-22), a highly confidential source.

On 6/18/70 BPP National Distribution Office, San  
 Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Material Shipped     | BPP newsletter 6/20/70   |
| Quantity             | 5 ones   |
| Destination          | Winston-Salem, NC.   |
| Shipping Information | Delta Airlines Flight 18, to<br>Atlanta & then switched to Piedmont Airlines |
| Airbill Number       | 1735353  |

(2) - Bureau (RM)

- Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
- San Francisco (1 - 157-2861)
- J.C/krh
- (1)

EX-117

REC-64

105-165706-8-222

JUN 24 1970

51 JUL 6 1970

RACIAL EXP. SECT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

CC 157-1581C  
KNB:kah

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but; whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.

|||

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
CONSIDERATIONS OF FBI

TELETYPE

|          |
|----------|
| Code     |
| Faxon    |
| Sullivan |
| Jordan   |
| Rosen    |
| DeLoach  |
| Holmes   |
| Gandy    |

WORD BE PLAIN

5:15 PUM NITEL 6-26-70 ESB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706) AND NEW HAVEN (100-19186)  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM

RE NEW HAVEN TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, TODAY.

A REVIEW OF CHARLOTTE FILES FAILED TO REFLECT ANY INFORMATION IDENTIFIABLE WITH ROBERT MORAN, AKA., BOB MORAN. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS WILL BE PLACED ON TRAVEL OF CHARLOTTE SUBJECTS TO NEW HAVEN AREA.

BUREAU AND NEW HAVEN WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

WJW FBI WA

X REC-55

105-165706-8-221

REC JUN 30 1970

105 165706

44-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: JUN 26 1970

FROM : [initials] SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

JUN 10 1970

#8 9:17am nbn ic

[REDACTED] called from Winston Salem, N.C. UNK M took call.

[REDACTED] said to have [REDACTED] call [REDACTED] in Winston Salem as soon as he comes in. The number is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] called Winston Salem for [REDACTED]. Got [REDACTED]

not in. [REDACTED] told her to tell him that they would get 2,000 papers this week and maybe 2,500 or 3,000 papers next week.

REC-8105-165706-8-220

5 JUN 1970

(500) 105-165706-8-220

FBI

Date: 6/19/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ~~URGENT~~ (Priority)

**TO:** DIRECTOR, FBI  
**FROM:** SAC, CHARLOTTE (157- [REDACTED] (P)  
**SUBJECT:** "CHANGED: "

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITY,  
FT. BRAGG, N. C.  
RM - BPP

Re Bureau airtel 5/26/70.

Title is marked CHANGED to add names of captioned subjects, all active duty soldiers assigned to Ft. Bragg, N. C. Title previously carried as "BLACK PANTHER PARTY. RM - CHARLOTTE DIVISION." (b)

Referenced Bureau airtel dated 5/26/70, entitled, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY. RM - CHARLOTTE DIVISION" sent as enclosure to Charlotte a Department of Army letter dated 5/13/70, and an undated "Spot Report". These enclosures alleged that civilian BPP members were involved in BPP activity at Ft. Bragg, N. C. (1)

Investigation was instituted in conjunction with the  
111th MIG, Fayetteville, N. C., and [REDACTED] the Department of Army, Agents report of  
Captain ROBERT J. HORAN, Security Officer, JFKCMA, Ft. Bragg,  
N. C., dated 5/6/70.

(2) - Bureau (RM) 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-7618)  
RHC: abw (1 - 157-6171)

51 JUN 30 1970 m/s  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

UNCLASSIFIED

(Priority)

CE 157-[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On 5/29/70, subjects [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were arrested for armed robbery by the Cumberland County, N. C., Sheriff's Office. [REDACTED] was arrested as a material witness and AWOL from the U. S. Army. He subsequently was released to military authorities and as of 6/17/70, was in the Post Stockade, Ft. Bragg, N. C. Subject [REDACTED] had been arrested by the Military Police as a deserter.

[REDACTED]

-2-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CONFIDENTIAL

CE 157  
[REDACTED]

(Priority)

Separate cases are not being opened on each subject  
as each is presently on active duty in the U. S. Army.

LHM follows.

-3-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 19 1970

TELETYPE

11:15A-URGENT 6-19-70 ESB

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) AND WASHINGTON FIELD (157-3971)  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-7631)

Mr. [redacted]  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN  
MEMORIAL, WAHSINGTON, D.C., JUNE NINETEEN, SEVENTY, RM.

[REDACTED] REPORTED TODAY THAT PIEDMONT  
COACH LINES BUS, N.C. LICENSE TWO FOUR ONE ZERO FA, DEPARTED  
ONE SIX ZERO TWO FOURTEENTH STREET, NORTHEAST, WINSTON SALEM  
N. C., AT SEVEN AM. ON THE ABOVE ARE ELEVEN MALES AND FIFTEEN  
FEMALES. THE ONLY INDIVIDUAL KNOWN TO [REDACTED]  
DEPART WAS LARRY LITTLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR SIX NINETEEN, SEVENTY.

ABOVE INFORMATION [REDACTED]

W.M.

WFO NOTIFY SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OF  
ABOVE INFORMATION AND ADVISED CHARLOTTE OF ACTIVITIES OF  
INDIVIDUALS FROM WINSTON SALEM WHILE AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

MXW

REC-105

JUN 25 1970

FBI WASH DC  
51 JUN 30 1970

C REC-105

105-165706-8-218

F B I

Date: 6/18/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7631) (P)  
 RE: RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
 PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970  
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte teletype, 6/17/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for WFO  
 are 2 copies of LHM captioned as above. Copies are being  
 disseminated locally to Secret Service and Military  
 Intelligence agencies.

CE T-2 is [REDACTED]  
 both of whom furnished information to SA [REDACTED].

Notification of Secret Service and Military  
 Intelligence was made by SA [REDACTED]

LEAD:

REC-87 105-165706-8-21

EX-112

22 JUN 19 1970

CHARLOTTE:AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will continue and report pertinent information

- 2nd dest.*  
 ② - Bureau (Encl-11) (RM)  
 2 - WFO (Encl-2) (RM)  
 6 - Charlotte (3 - 157-7631) (1 - 157-6171) (BPP)  
 (1 - [REDACTED] (1 - [REDACTED])

THG:ga  
(10)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: JUN 30 1970 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Supt in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
June 18, 1970

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JUNE 19, 1970  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to memorandum prepared at  
Charlotte, North Carolina, dated June 17, 1970.

On [REDACTED] 1970, CE T-1 reported [REDACTED]  
received information that the Winston-Salem National  
Committee to combat Facism (NCCF) now plans to rent a  
bus in order that the members might travel to attend the  
rally at Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1970. CE T-1  
was not aware ofthe source of any funds to be used to  
rent this bus, noting the group has had financial difficulties  
in the past.

On [REDACTED] 1970; CE T-2 advised that DOUG MIRANDA  
had been in contact with Piedmont Coach Lines, Winston-Salem,  
North Carolina, concerning the renting of a bus. After  
MIRANDA's contact with Piedmont Coach Lines, LARRY LITTLE  
[REDACTED]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR  
CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE  
FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS  
ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

10-1

RE: RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN  
MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970

---

[Redacted]

CE T-1 has previously identified LARRY LITTLE as Lieutenant of Information of the Winston-Salem NCCP, an affiliate of the Black Panther Party (BPP). This group's headquarters is at 1602 Fourteenth Street, Northeast, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Secret Service and Military Intelligence advised.

A characterization of the BPP is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

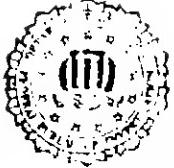
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Charlotte, North Carolina**  
**June 19, 1970**

**RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970**

### Character

## RACIAL MATTERS

## Reference

Memorandum prepared at Charlotte,  
North Carolina, dated and captioned  
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 6/17/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7631) (P)

SUBJECT: RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
JUNE 19, 1970  
RACIAL MATTER

*Black Panther Party*

Re Charlotte teletype to Director dated 6/17/70,  
and Charlotte teletype to WFO dated 6/16/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for WFO  
3 copies of LHM captioned as above, copies of which are being  
disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies and  
Secret Service.

[REDACTED] who  
furnished his information to SA [REDACTED]

Observation on 6/16/70 was by SA [REDACTED]

Charlotte will follow and report pertinent  
developments.

AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU + S/OU  
157-3071 SEC SER, OSI  
DATE FORM: 6/23/70 157-3071  
HOW FORM: RIS BY: [REDACTED] 1cc 8085  
[REDACTED] 2cc 4444 ENCL. 100

TC-82 105-165706-8-0/6

22 JUN 19 1970

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- 3 - WFO (157-3071) (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)

THG:rep  
(8)

RACIAL JUSTICE SECTION  
FBI - CHARLOTTE

Approved: Brown Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
5 JUL 1 1970 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
June 17, 1970

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 19, 1970  
RACIAL MATTER

On June 8, 1970, CE T-1 reported observing posters on trees in the vicinity of 14th Street and Cleveland Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which posters indicated that a Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention was to be held on June 19, 1970, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C. The posters also indicated that for further information contact the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), an organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party, 2327 18th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., telephone number 265-4418.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

Recontacts with T-1 during the period [REDACTED] 1970, determined that members of the Winston-Salem NCCF desired to attend the rally at Washington, D. C.; however, they have made no actual plans as they are short of funds to make the trip.

On June 16, 1970, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed posters as described by T-1 located on 14th Street in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in the 1200 and 1600 blocks.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

91

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

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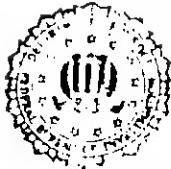
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The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina

June 17, 1970

Title      RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
              PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
              JUNE 19, 1970

Character    RACIAL MATTER

Reference    Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina,  
              dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

FBI

Date: 6/17/70

following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

EL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)(Sub 8)

FROM: [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On June 15, 1970, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source, whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau.

On June 15, 1970, [REDACTED] commonly known as [REDACTED] a San Francisco BPP member, who has recently been assigned to perform various BPP duties in the eastern United States, contacted BPP National Distribution Office, San Francisco, California, stating that she is presently assigned to the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. She discussed BPP newspaper distribution matters with [REDACTED] at the National Distribution Office, during which she indicated that WILLIAM PRICE is handling distribution matters at Winston-Salem, and she also mentioned that NELSON MAYLARD is active in the Winston-Salem organization.

[REDACTED] is included in the Black Nationalist Album.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
5 - Charlotte (RM)  
(2 - 157-6171)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
3 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-2861)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
RMB/krn  
(10)

REC-86/105-165706-8-215

EX 106

RACE & SECT

Approved

Sent

M Per

51 JUN 30 1970

Special Agent in Charge

187-2802

Wm

San Francisco sources indicate that in recent weeks, a number of active BPP members have traveled to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, indicating an intensification of BPP activity there.

Charlotte should conduct necessary investigation to determine the extent of BPP activity at Winston-Salem at the present time and the keep the Bureau and San Francisco advised.

F B I

Date: 6/18/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706- SUB 8)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161993) (P)

SUBJECT: BPP - CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM

On 6/17/70, [REDACTED] (NYT-66), a highly placed sensitive source, advised on above date that [REDACTED] (possibly [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, N.C.) was in contact with the Bronx Branch of the BPP. She advised that the following letter has been mailed out to people who had been working in the NCCF. The letter said:

"A recent development of possible interest at Winston-Salem was received from a corresponding reporter at New Haven, Conn. (The title of this is Winston-Salem, North Carolina Black Community News Service.) who advised that DOUGLAS MIRANDA, former Area Captain of the Black Panther Party at New Haven, has transferred to Winston-Salem, N.C. Information on the local scene indicates

② - Bureau (RM)  
5 - Charlotte (RM)

REC-10

EX-110

105-165706-8-214

{1-  
{1-  
{1-  
{1-  
{1-  
2 - New Haven (INFO) (RM)  
(1- [REDACTED]  
1 - New York  
1 - New York

8 JUN 19 1970

HCOC:egb

(12) 1 - SURW. #43

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

66 JUL 1 1970

RACIAL INT. SER.

NY 100-161993

"that MIRANDA is slated to take over the local Winston-Salem Branch of the National Committee To Combat Fascism replacing the more responsible ROBERT T. GREER (phonetic). GREER and the more stable portion of the local NCCF have disassociated themselves from the group due to the self styled dictatorial policies of LARRY BETTLE who was formerly known as the Lieutenant of Information. It is little wonder that the membership of the local NCCF remains at less than ten when consideration is given to the complete lack of community support for the radical program of BETTLE. Now that ROBERT T. GREER and his friends have publically disassociated themselves from the group. GREER impresses the reporter as a true servant of the people while BETTLE gives the impression of being a community parasite. BETTLE lives off the people and returns nothing. It is rumored that BETTLE and his friends support themselves on donations they obtain in the name of the Breakfast Program."

In concluding [redacted] said community workers and all the stores in Winston-Salem got it. She said it probably is a "pig" and was from "SVRP" adding "whatever that is."

The above is set out for the information of Charlotte and New Haven Offices.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

REC-89

MD 221 CR CODE

**TELETYPE**

177 AM URGENT 6-19-70 CEM  
TO DIRECTOR (105-165706)  
INFO (157-7631)  
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-7631)

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN MEMORIAL,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE NINETEEN, SEVENTY. RM.

SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED TODAY AROUND SIX MEMBERS OF WINSTON SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF), ARE GOING TO ATTEND CAPTIONED RALLY ALONG WITH APPROXIMATELY THIRTY OTHER INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO ARE MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY AND ARE NOT AFFILIATED WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

MEMBERS OF (NCCF) GOING ARE TO INCLUDE DOUG PAUL MIRANDA,  
LARRY LITTLE, NELSON MALLOY, TERESA THOMAS, DAVID BOWNAM, AND  
JULIUS CORNELL. HOWEVER ONE MAY STAY AT WINSTON SALEM TO  
MAINTAIN SECURITY AT THEIR HEADQUARTERS. 105-165706-8

## **ADMINISTRATIVE**

REC-89

RE CHARLOTTE TEL TO DIRECTOR JUNE SEVENTEEN, SEVENTY.

END PAGE ONE  
36 JUN 30 1970

COPY SENT - IDIU  
G. D. - 10/10/19

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

2 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

3 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

- For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-213 page 2

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 17 1970

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gandy  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Hagan  
Mr. Holmes  
Mr. Quinn  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

NR002 CE CODE

11:47AM URGENT 6-17-70 3ESB

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-7631 (2P)

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LINCOLN  
MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., SIX NINETEEN SEVENTY, RACIAL  
MATTER.

ON SIX EIGHT SEVENTY A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE  
INFORMATION IN THE PAST OBSERVED POSTERS ON TREES IN THE  
VICINITY OF FOURTEENTH STREET, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., WHICH  
INDICATED A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IS  
TO BE HELD SIX NINETEEN SEVENTY AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN  
WASHINGTON, D.C., AND WHICH INDICATED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION  
CONTACT NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF), TWO  
EIGHT TWO SEVEN EIGHTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECONTACTS WITH ABOVE SOURCE DETERMINED MEMBERS OF WINSTON-  
SALEM NCCF DESIRE TO ATTEND CAPTIONED RALLY; HOWEVER HAVE MADE  
NO PLANS AS THEY ARE SHORT OF FUNDS TO TAKE THE TRIP.

END PAGE ONE

56 JUN 24 1970

E. JUN 19 1970

CE 157-7631

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE DIRECTOR'S TELETYPE SIX TWELVE LAST.

[REDACTED]

AS ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS OCCUR, BUREAU AND WFO WILL  
BE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

WFO ADVISED SEPARATELY.

END.

JTJ FBI WASH DC

[REDACTED]  
ROOM 724 OLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE CODE

JUN 12 1970

11:00 PM URGENT 6/12/70 CJC      **TELETYPE**  
TO      DIRECTOR, FBI      (105-165706)  
          SAN FRANCISCO  
          SEATTLE  
FROM     CHARLOTTE      (157-6171) IP

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wallace \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. C. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sayers \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP, RM.

[REDACTED] RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT

JUNE HILLIARD WAS IN WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., BUT DEPARTED JUNE ELEVEN,  
LAST. DESTINATION UNKNOWN BUT BELIEVED TO BE GOING QUOTE HOME  
END QUOTE.

[REDACTED] HAD NO INFORMATION AS TO IDENTITY OF FRISCO EDDIE  
(LNU) OR HIS PRESENT LOCATION AND NO INFORMATION RE MARY (LNU).  
REASON FORM HILLIARD'S PRESENCE IN NORTH CAROLINA UNKNOWN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU JUNE ELEVEN LAST.

END

WJM FBI WA

REC-71

105-165706-8-211

EX-116

JUN 19 1970

56 JUN 24 1970

F B I

Date: 6/9/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)① BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS  
BUDED 6/10/70

No information was obtained through contact with informants concerning the specific instructions issued by BPP Headquarters to newly organized groups. It is noted that LARRY DONNELL LITTLE and OSCAR LEE WASHINGTON are the only two individuals known to Charlotte as having traveled to BPP Headquarters from this Division for training. LITTLE is reportedly the minister of information of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism and has traveled to California on 2 occasions.

obtained information in May, 1970, that additional individuals will possibly be sent to California, reason not given, but believed by informant to be for training.

[REDACTED]

DONNELL LITTLE is emerging as the local leader and [REDACTED]

LARRY [REDACTED]

(2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (RM)  
2 - Charlotte

THG/bmr  
(5)

EX-115

REC 18 105-165706-210

5 JUN 11 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

R  
INT. SECY.  
FBI

5 JUN 22 1970

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

6-11-70

REC-29

Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)-209

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 6-5-70.

Referenced airtel not in conformance with instructions contained in Bulets to Albany 2-27-70 and 5-5-70. Review instructions carefully, particularly regarding use of tabulation format as contained in San Francisco summary 4-13-70. Handle future submissions accordingly.

HEH:bad (4)

NOTE:

Charlotte has submitted a somewhat rambling monthly summary which is not in conformance with prior instructions.

he ✓

|            |
|------------|
| MAILED 23  |
| JUN 1 1970 |
| COMM-FBI   |

Wilson \_\_\_\_\_  
Deloach \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
John \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

60 JUN 23 1970

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 6/5/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
RM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 5/6/70.

The following information was obtained from [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] (NH T-12), [REDACTED] (SF T-22), and [REDACTED]  
 observation by SA [REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

The group continues to operate as the National Committee to Combat Fascism with headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] the new telephone number is 722-4097. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that information has been received that an argument occurred at the BPP headquarters on Sunday, [REDACTED] ROBERT TAYLOR GREER was told by other panthers, not identified, that he would have to quit his job and become the full-time Captain of Defense or else get out of the BPP. GREER reportedly then asked how he would pay his bills and when told that the group would pay his bills, he stated that they were unable to do so as they were broke, charging food for the breakfast program, unable to pay their rent, and having very little donations coming in.

REC-29 105-165706-8-209

(2) - Bureau (RM)

2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)

2 - Charlotte

12 JUN 6 1970

THG:dmn

(6)

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

m | 4

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

AL INVESTIGATED

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)  
CE 157-6171

After this argument, GREER and those individuals loyal to him pulled out of the BPP group with GREER making the statement that he believed WILLIAM RICE would be the new head of the BPP group.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] believed approximately six members and two or three "fledgling" panthers remained in the group loyal to LARRY DONNELL LITTLE and WILLIAM RICE.

Information from [REDACTED] (NH T-12) indicated that due to dissension at New Haven, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, former Area Captain, was disciplined and sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advised LARRY DONNELL LITTLE traveled to BPP Headquarters in San Francisco, California, during early May, reason not given, [REDACTED] reported additional members from Winston-Salem were apparently to be selected to travel to national headquarters for possible training.

In connection with chapter activities during May, it was noted that on 5/3/70, the group held a rally in support of BOBBY SEALE with the major speaker being DARRUBA (RICHARD MOORE of the New York 21). The group continued to receive and sell copies of the Black Panther newspaper on a weekly basis. However, [REDACTED] (SF T-22) reported on 5/25/70, that [REDACTED] San Francisco, California,

[REDACTED] reported that the chapter at Winston-Salem was two weeks behind on payments for the paper.

According to [REDACTED] the group continues to have financial problems and there has been no increase in the breakfast program attendance; however, their new headquarters is in a very thickly populated all Negro ghetto area and therefore, they hope for improvement.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

JUN 11 1970

LOM

RECORDED, INDEXED, FILED - JUN 11 1970

PROT. NO. 1, LAST MAILED 100 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

15A

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 San Pablo Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably parameterized to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM  
2 - DETROIT (157-3075) RM  
3 - SF  
1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - DETROIT SF (157-2305)  
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - PUBLICATIONS & FILMS SF (157-1581)

REC-1

105-165706-8-208

22 JUN 11 1970

JUN 24 1970

(500)

U.S. Savings Bonds Registered on the Payroll Savings Plan

#3 11:01 am ihm ic

MAY 27 1970

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] asked if LARRY LITTLE from Winston-Salem had called him about his papers. [REDACTED] said no. [REDACTED] advised that he had told him that he would not get any papers because he had not paid his bill. He then asked [REDACTED] if he had talked with CHUCK HOLT from Detroit. [REDACTED] said he told HOLT and MALIK that they were \$800 or \$900 in the hole and had better get it paid up.

10-1  
EXCERPT

F B I

Date: 6/9/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8 )  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS

C-1

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, 3/30/70.

On 6/8/70 the following information was received  
from [REDACTED] (SF T-22, a highly sensitive source)

On 6/8/70 BPP National Distribution Office, San  
Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Material Shipped     | <u>BPP publications &amp; materials</u>   |
| Quantity             | <u>unknown</u>  |
| Destination          | <u>Winston-Salem, North Carolina</u>  |
| Shipping Information | <u>DAL #18 to Atlanta 3:15 PM,<br/>6/8/70. Piedmont Airlines<br/>arr. Winston-Salem 8:08 PM, 6/8/70</u> |
| Airbill Number       | <u>12645694</u>   |

(2) Bureau (RM)  
2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
RNB/jmp  
(5)

REC 18 105-165706-8-207  
4 JUN 11 1970

PACIN ATT. SECTA

60 JUN 18 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

SF 157-1581C  
RNB:kah

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but; whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.

F B I

Date: 6/12/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. F. P.  
 Mrs. C.  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Stevens  
 Tele. Room  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub8 )

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)

SUBJECT: O BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Los Angeles, 3/30/70.

On 6/11/70 the following information was received  
from [redacted] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive sourceOn 6/11/70 BPP National Distribution Office, San  
Francisco, California, shipped BPP publications as follows:

Material Shipped BPP newspapers

Quantity 3 boxes

Destination Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Shipping Information Delta Airlines Flight 18,  
arriving Atlanta 3:16 p.m.,  
6/11/70, thereafter trans-  
ferring to an unknown flight to  
Winston-Salem

Airbill Number 1516351

② - Bureau (RM)  
 2-Charlotte (157-6171) (RM) | REC-34 105-165706-8-206  
 1-San Francisco  
 RNB:kah  
 (5)

16 JUN 15 1970

EX-110

50 JUN 22 1970

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SI 157-1581C

R/RB:kah

Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of security statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but, whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.

(JUN 12 1967)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

|   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| REPORTING OFFICE<br><b>CHARLOTTE</b>              | OFFICE OF ORIGIN<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> | DATE<br><b>5/28/70</b>   | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD<br><b>2/23/70 - 5/19/70</b> |
| TITLE OF CASE<br><b>BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)</b> |  | REPORT MADE BY<br>SA [REDACTED]  | TYPED BY<br><b>rep</b>                           |
|   |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>RACIAL MATTER; SMITH ACT OF 1940;<br/>SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY;<br/>REBELLION AND INSURRECTION</b> |  |

**REFERENCE:**

Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 5/6/70.

- P -

**ADMINISTRATIVE:**

This report is being classified "Confidential" to protect sources whose identification or compromise could affect the national defense of the United States adversely.

|                                |       |      |       |         |   |                    |                       |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|---|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED</b> |       |      |       |         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <b>NONE</b> | <b>ACQUIT-TALS</b> | <b>CASE HAS BEEN:</b> |
| CONVIC                         | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES                                      |                    |                       |

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR  YES  NO  
PENDING PROSECUTION  
OVER SIX MONTHS  YES  NO

APPROVED *M. M.* SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)  
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

*105-165706-8-204*

*JUN 1 1970*

*REC-22*

Notations

*RACIAL MATTER*

GPO : 1968 O - 289-88

|   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Dissemination Record of Attached Report |                                 |
| ENCL                                    | AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC SEC |
| ST Recd.                                | DEPT ISD: FBI, EDI, SDOU, DCS   |
| wd.                                     | DATE FORW: JUN 8 1970           |
| wd.                                     | HOW FORW: 1cc detached by       |
| BY: H. J. C.                            | Klan Unit                       |

59 JUN 22 1970

COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

3.

SF T-16 is [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SF T-16 is a technical installation authorized by  
the Attorney General of the United States; and any information  
obtained from that source, if to be made public, will have to  
be introduced by the Special Agent of the San Francisco Office  
having made the pertinent transcript.

[REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B  
COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

C\*  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: May 28, 1970

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: RACIAL MATTER; SMITH ACT OF 1940;  
SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis: At Winston-Salem, N. C., a group operating under name National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) is recognized by BPP Headquarters. New members are asked questions including whether or not ready to die or kill relatives to further the revolution. The group has purchased ammunition, owns firearms, and guarded residence of a Negro female evicted by Forsyth County, N. C., Sheriff's Office with firearms to insure individual was not re-evicted prior to payment of rent. The group studies articles from the Black Panther Newspaper, including Ten-Point Program and rules of the Black Panther Party. Newspapers are received from National Distribution of BPP which are sold in Winston-Salem, N. C. During May, 1970, LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Lieutenant of Information, traveled to BPP Headquarters, reason unknown. Consideration being given to sending additional members to Black Panther Headquarters in California for training.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

|                         |
|-------------------------|
| GROUP 1                 |
| EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC |
| DOWNGRADING AND         |
| DECLASSIFICATION        |

CE 157-6171

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CE 157-6171

I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND  
POLICIES AS EXPRESSED BY BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY LEADERS

CE 157-6171

On [redacted] reported that, when prospective members appear at the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 1210 East 5th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, they are asked a number of questions, including whether or not they are willing to die for their people and whether or not they would willingly kill a relative to further the revolution. They are also advised that they must learn the Ten-Point Program of the BPP, its rules, and will be taught how to shoot a gun and take physical training.

[redacted] tape recording made of what was billed as a Black Panther Party rally for BOBBY SEALE held May 3, 1970, at the "Tower of Power," Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Due to the necessity of conserving tape, [redacted] not get all of the speeches or comments by each individual with the exception of the guest speaker.

Review of the tape indicates the guest speaker was Brother DARUBA, described as a member of the "New York 21." Among his comments were the following statements:

"We'll say to them, either free our people who are political prisoners in jail, we we'll institute a pirate nightmare from one end of Babylon to the other. And your national guards, your national guards, well weekend reactionaries, your part-time imperialists, and your regular army, your 82nd Airborne, and your Marine Corps, and your Special Forces, and your Air Force, your guided missiles, your atomic bombs, are all in left field and don't mean anything. You see, because you got niggers in the army, in the Special Forces, in the National Guard.

"And that is what every black man must stop to think about. And that is the issue of survival. And that issue of survival clings very crucially to the issue of whether we would allow the pigs to railroad us according to their laws or murder us in their jails. Whether we would allow that. So, if you're in the army, we're not saying come

out of the army and join the Black Panther Party. We don't know if we ever took one that felt like that. Don't blow your cool. Stay in the army and off your captain and your colonel and your generals. Off him, off him because if you don't off him, if you don't off him, he'll be right here with the whole battalion and will off your mama and papa because they're niggers. And if he said to you that Nixon said to him, colonel we got a whole lot of niggers who are restless out in those ghettos tonight. Said, you take that 530 Battalion, and you go in there and you stop all that shit any way you feel is necessary. And he'll do that. He'll bring in your community M-16's. He'll bring in your community tanks and helicopter gunships and will shoot your mama down like she was a dog. If you don't believe he'll do it, you can dig what he has done in the past."

"So we have a very functional program for that and that is what we call for want of a better name, 'Community Control of the Pigs.' And how we go about this is that we take the basic principle that the police should live and come from the community he works in. That way, if he busts somebody, he tries to brutalize them, or busts somebody's child and tries to brutalize them, then everybody in the block will be sitting on the stoop waiting for him to come home at night from work. He won't do that. And if he comes from that community and he lives in that community, he understands what's happening in that community, he ain't going to let nobody sell no dope to his child. He ain't going to let nobody brutalize his children. He ain't going to let nobody oppress his people, and damn sure nobody is going to come in here and shoot up his family."

CE 157-6171

**II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM OR  
POLICIES**

---

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED] On March 5, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had advised the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party at Berkeley, California, that, in connection with an eviction proceeding for non-payment of rent, deputies had moved a woman's belongings into the street and that these were returned by brothers to the house with armed guards posted, after which the law enforcement officers withdrew from the scene.

On March 12, 1970, Forsyth County Deputy Sheriffs BOB SHORE and JAMES INGRAM advised that on approximately the third of March, 1970, they went to the area of Locust Street and first went to a residence at 1521 East 16th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, with eviction papers.

A Negro woman, LILLIAN FARMER, was sick in bed so they did not evict this family but told them to find another place to live as they would have to come back in a few days to evict them.

They then went to 1608 Locust Street with a Magistrate's Order of Eviction for the residents, noting they had previously been served with a Magistrate's Summons on Eviction. No one was home, and the door was padlocked on the outside. They pulled the hasp with a crowbar and started putting the furniture in the street as ordered by the Magistrate's Order of Eviction. This was listed as the home of FRANK McMULLIS; but after they had removed approximately one-half of the furniture, an unidentified woman who was drunk and yelling and swearing said that this was her furniture and not to set it out. She picked up a hammer and started after the people moving the furniture, but the deputies told her to leave and she did.

During this time, another drunken Negro female identified as POLLY GRAHAM came in swearing and yelling; but she also left. The deputies advised they started to move the cook stove but could not do so as it would fall apart, so they left it in the house.

They then went to a house at the corner of Locust and 16th Street with papers for eviction but found there was a drunk, blind, elderly Negro man in the back room. He had

CE 157-6171

apparently accidentally kicked over a portable oil stove as there was oil on the floor and the house was full of smoke. The deputies advised they set the stove back up to insure there was not a fire hazard and told him of the eviction; but as he was old and blind, they did not evict him and told him to find a new place to stay as they would have to come back in a few days and evict him.

During this time, the Negro female identified as POLLY GRAHAM came into this house swearing and yelling, and she was told to leave or she would be arrested for cursing and abusing an officer. She said, "You go to hell, you don't have enough authority to arrest me because we all stick together over here." She then ran out and went down Locust Street yelling, "Let's all stick together."

The deputies advised they then went on about their normal business and did not ever see any Panthers in the area. These activities occurred at approximately 10:00 A. M.; and at approximately 2:00 P. M., Sheriff E. G. SHORE, Forsyth County Sheriff's Office, called them on the radio and told them the rent had been paid on all three of the above-described places and not to evict them.

The deputies emphasized there had been no encounter with Panthers and no racial incident and that they had not even seen any Black Panthers in the area.

The March 3, 1970, issue of The Twin City Sentinel, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, daily newspaper, contained an article which states in part that on that morning two members of the Black Panther Party stationed themselves outside a house on Locust Street whose occupant had been evicted earlier by Deputy Sheriffs after moving her furniture and possessions back into the house. The newspaper article quoted the Panthers as stating they would resist attempts to re-evict the woman.

The Journal, daily Winston-Salem, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1970, contained an article under the caption "Donor Pays Rents, Avoiding Evictions," which article is quoted in part as follows:

CE 157-6171

"An anonymous donor paid \$540 in back rent and court fees yesterday and postponed the evictions of three East Winston tenants.

"The action averted a possible armed confrontation between sheriffs' deputies, who were making the evictions, and Black Panthers, who were posted around the area with loaded guns.

"The money was paid to L. F. REED and Son real estate company about 3 PM yesterday by ROBERT LAW, a staff member of the Experiment in Self-Reliance. LAW would not reveal where the money came from.

"MARK H. FREEMAN, director of the Urban Coalition, said last night that a person had given the money to the coalition, and that the coalition would use it to reimburse the Experiment, which took the money from its emergency fund."

On February 16, 1970, [REDACTED] identified LARRY DONNELL LITTLE as the Minister of Information of the National Committee to Combat Fascism at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group considers itself to be a Black Panther Party affiliated organization.

[REDACTED] MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] Lieutenant WILLIAM RICE of the BPP group at Winston-Salem, he had determined that earlier that month the Sheriff's Office had evicted a family and the BPP group told the people to go back into the house. It was mentioned that the Panther members had guns and were quoted as saying they would kill anyone who interfered in this situation.

The March 28, 1970, issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, page 2, contained the following article concerning this incident:

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1970 PAGE 2

THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA ARE READY TO DEAL WITH SLUMLORDS.

# PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY VS THE SLUMLORDS AND FASCIST PIGS OF WINSTON-SALEM

"We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings." In any city, country or nation, this is one of the most important necessities that one needs to live. But I, as if the Slumlords and Fascist pigs of Winston-Salem don't know this or that they just don't care about anyone else.

On March 4, 1970, Miss Polly Graham came into the Headquarters of the Winston-Salem Office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism and stated that she had been evicted from her home after the door had been kicked down by fascist pigs and a silly woman, by name of Miss Graham, for any type of help or assistance we could give her. After arriving in the community we found out not only

had Miss Graham been evicted but the fools (PIGS) had promised to come back and evict other families of the community. The houses in the Locust Street area are not fit for the Shelter of Human Be-

ings: some of the homes do not have bathtubs, some don't have hot water, windows are broken and some have holes in the walls big

enough for pigs to crawl through. The Slumlords have not made any effort to correct any of these de-

ficiencies. If anyone should be pay-

ing anything, the people who live in these rat infested houses should be paid for living under such

conditions. The people of this com-

munity got together with another

and Sister of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat

Fascism and decided that Miss

Graham nor anyone else was going to be evicted. Miss Graham's be-

longings were moved back into the house. The Brother and Sister and people of the community armed and prepared themselves to deal with

the pigs and landlords when they returned. When word reached the low-life pigs that we were ready

to deal with them in the language

they spoke, through the barrel of

a gun, they wouldn't show their

faces in the community. The run-

ning dogs bld. Afterwards, it was

reported that an anonymous donor

had paid the rent, and another

report said some type of govern-

ment agency had paid the rent.

But regardless of how the rent

was paid, the people had taken

their stand and they vowed to re-

sist any more evictions and the reason why these fools are upset

is because the people of this com-

munity have taken a stand against

this madness and refuse to let

it happen again. So to you "deep-

ly concerned" city officials, Mayor

"Mad" Benton, Chief of Pigs "Un-

justice" Tucker, your upset days

have just begun, because we poor

oppressed people of Winston-

Salem are going to be dealing with

you from here on out. We have

the constitutional right to bear

arms, and if that's what it takes

to deal with you, so let it be.

BLOOD TO THE HORSE'S BROW

AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CAN'T

SHOOT!

John E. Moore

CE 157-6171

On May 19, 1970 [REDACTED]

reported that TERESA THOMAS had purchased approximately \$40 worth of ammunition for shotguns and rifles at a local sporting goods store.

[REDACTED]

CE 157-6171

**III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM**

---

CE 157-6171

On [REDACTED] reported that the day's activities were as follows concerning a Black Panther Party meeting at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

[REDACTED] At approximately 9:00 A. M., the "Liberation Class" had started for new members where they take turns reading parts of the Black Panther Newspaper aloud describing what it means to them. There is an instructor present who appears knowledgeable concerning these matters and assists by clarifying points and is also teaching the Ten-Point Program and the rules of the Black Panther Party. At noon, the group leaves the headquarters and goes out in the streets where they sell papers until 6:00 P. M., thereafter returning to the headquarters where the money and unsold papers are turned in.

On [REDACTED] reported that a Black Panther Party rally had been scheduled for May 3, 1970, at 4:30 P. M., at the Tower of Power, 15th and English Streets, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was scheduled that the film "Off the Pig" would be shown; and speakers were to include "SLACK" THOMAS, Minister of Finance; NELSON MALLOY, Field Lieutenant; and BILL RICE, also a Lieutenant.

On May 4, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that the rally held Sunday, May 3, 1970, started with the record called "Seize the Time" and a record called "Assassination." LARRY LITTLE was the Master of Ceremonies, and all speeches were the normal BPP speeches with the guest speaker referred to as DARUBA.

[REDACTED] tape recording of portions of this meeting, a review of which indicates that LARRY LITTLE identified himself as Lieutenant of Information for the local "Political Bureau" of the BPP, stating the rally was in support of "our chairman," BOBBY SEALE. LARRY LITTLE was critical of the mass media stating that people should throw down the pen and take up the sword. He was critical of the United States court system as it did not function for black people and "avaricious businessmen" for not contributing to the Breakfast Program of the BPP. WILLIAM RICE was critical of the United States Government stating, "Everyone knows that laws are made of the pigs, by the pigs, and for the pigs."

CE 157-6171

The main speaker, "DARUEA," stated, "We're going to see that the Black Panther Party's position is very clear. We oppose pork chop nationalism, dashiki liberation. We oppose that because a dashiki can't stop a 357 from one of these racist state troopers. Afros, afros, won't keep our door closed when the pigs decided to kick it in. Only sand bags and fortification will and some guns to back that up."

"And if every black man puts a gun in his home and has got sand bags in his house and takes the sand bags and dyes the sand bags in beautiful colors, and make it homely and make it look good. Make it a home. That's a desirable condition, that's a desirable condition because they're some black people, a family is in the house and these mad dogs that occupy our community decide to come in and shoot up the neighborhood, we'll have a little protection and our family might live. And that's desirable. And the sand bags are functional, and we can even identify them and paint flowers on them if you want to.

"So, there's a lot of niggers here who live in houses anyway instead of apartments, and sand bags are holding them up. So, that's a desirable condition and that's the way of survival of our people because we have brothers here who are going to set that example for you and show you how you can do that."

On [redacted] at [redacted] the new headquarters of the Winston-Salem group at 1602 East 14th Street, discussion was held and consideration given to sending two or three more people out to California. This was believed to be for training; however, this was not specifically stated. It was also learned that LARRY LITTLE had traveled to California around May 10, 1970, the reason not given.

CE 157-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

**CE 157-6171**

The March 28, 1970, issue of the Black Panther  
Newspaper, page 13, contained an article captioned "To The  
People of North Carolina," which follows:

# TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA



A study of history will show that one of the major obstacles that oppressed people have had to deal with in their just struggle for freedom has been the oppressive power structure. This Liberation struggle in the Black Colony proves to be no exception. A Rent-a-Nigger organization called the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party has emerged in Greensboro, N.C. under the disguise of trying to solve the drug problem in Greensboro. The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism can relate to anybody trying to get drugs out of the community because we understand that drugs along with the Mass Media are part and parcel of the apparatus of oppression that the people are up against.

But we also say that "social practice is the criterion of the truth." So we're going to judge these niggers through their social practices to determine if they are true ser-

vants of the people or whether they're just another Rent-a-Nigger organization that the oppressive power structure is using to infiltrate the revolution in an attempt to lead the people's struggle astray.

The chairman of this organization is Jose Gonzalez, an agent provocateur from the New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party.

This is the same nigger that so mysteriously split from the Party

right before the frame-up of the Connecticut "8." While in the Black Panther Party this nigger's

social practice proved that he was nothing more than an egotistical organization is affiliated with the

Gonzalez and his fellow lackey, Brad Belcher (who's listed as the Minister of Defense), started their own

Rent-a-Nigger organization they were going around misleading the people in North Carolina by telling them that they were Field Marshals of the Black Panther

Party and that they were sent into the North Carolina area to organize.

At this time those same niggers along with a few more bootlickin

niggers are going around wearing Black Leather Jackets, Berets and Party buttons telling people that their Rent-a-Nigger

fool, always greedy for recognition, he even stole clothes and watches from the comrades in the Committee to Combat Fascism Party. This nigger has been seen in other areas of the states

selling .22, suicide pop guns to little brothers who don't know any

better.

Before this Jack-a-nape Gon-

zalez and his fellow lackey, Brad Belcher (who's listed as the Min-

ister of Defense), started their own

organization they were going around misleading the people in North Carolina by tell-

ing them that they were Field Marshals of the Black Panther

Party and that they think it's the

lowest or the most popular trend OR

Low-lifted Pigs these bootlicking

niggers who are trying to fulfill the people's righteous strug-

gle in an attempt to prolong and

maintain their MASTERS oppres-

sion over their own people.

SEIZE THE TIME  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

People of North Carolina  
BEWARE  
of these niggers who all them  
selves revolutionaries and who use  
super - revolutionary slogans but  
through their social practice can  
be discovered to be either op-  
portunistic niggers who are just  
greedy trying to get on the band  
wagon because they think it's the  
lowest or the most popular trend OR  
the North Carolina area to organ-  
ize. At this time those same nig-  
gers along with a few more boot-  
lickin niggers are going around  
wearing Black Leather Jackets,  
Berets and Party buttons telling  
people that their Rent-a-Nigger  
fool, always greedy for recogni-  
tion, he even stole clothes and  
watches from the comrades in the  
Committee to Combat Fascism  
Party. This nigger has been seen  
(which is a political Bureau of  
the Black Panther Party) is the  
Central Staff  
North Carolina that is affiliated  
with the Black Panther Party.

CE 157-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

CE 157-6171

Copies of the February 21, February 28, March 21,  
and March 28, 1970, issues of the Black Panther Newspaper  
were obtained by SA [redacted] as they were being sold  
on the streets of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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105-165706-8-204      pages 21-23

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

March 16, 1970

Date \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] advised LARRY LITTLE of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem had picked up four boxes of newspapers that Monday.

[REDACTED]

24

On 3/9/70 at Winston-Salem, North Carolina File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SA [REDACTED] Date dictated 3/10/70

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/7/70

1

A copy of "The Black Panther" newspaper was purchased on the street in front of 1210 East 5th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from an unknown Negro female. This copy was dated March 28, 1970.

26

On 3/31/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SA [redacted] sjw Date dictated 4/1/70

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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105-165706-8-204 pages 27-28

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CE 157-6171

On May 11, 1970.

*RE: 56-117-100-10-Sub*  
[REDACTED] advised that LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Lieutenant of Information of the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, departed Winston-Salem by plane at 2:00 P. M., May 10, 1970, en route to San Francisco, California, with subsequent destination allegedly Berkeley, California. *LARRY D. LITTLE* *LARRY LITTLE*

On May 14, 1970, SF T-16 reported that LARRY LITTLE of the National Committee to Combat Fascism chapter, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had traveled to Berkeley, California, to the BPP National Headquarters, however, was returning soon to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and would take with him a number of copies of the Black Panther Newspaper dated May 19, 1970.

The Black Panther, official newspaper of the BPP, Volume 4, Number 22, page 10, dated Saturday, May 9, 1970, contained a "Black Panther Party List of All Recognized Chapters, Branches and N.C.C.F.S."

Included in this list was:

"Winston Salem  
1225 E 18th Street #5  
Winston Salem,  
North Carolina  
(919) 725-7026  
R. T. Greer

ROBERT TAYLOR GREER has been publicly identified as the Area Captain of the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. According to [REDACTED] GREER did reside at 1225 East 18th Street, Apartment Number 5, but now resides at 1050 North Cleveland Avenue, Apartment N.

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,

Also known as

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
May 28, 1970

Title      **BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**

Character    **RACIAL MATTER; SMITH ACT OF 1940;**  
**SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND**  
Reference    **INSURRECTION**

**Report of Special Agent THOMAS H. GEORGE  
at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and  
captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 6/2/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
 TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP  
 RM - BPP

Re WFO teletype to the Director dated 5/25/70.

Contact with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] failed to develop any information concerning a National Committee to Combat Fascism Rally being held anywhere in the Winston-Salem area on or about 5/25/70. Contact with these individuals during that week and on 5/28/70 has failed to develop information concerning a rally in the Winston-Salem area or the presence of DON (LNU) or COULSTON, or HOWARD CLAYTON MOORE in the Winston-Salem area.

LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

Provide any available information concerning the travel of DON (LNU) or COULSTON (PHONETIC).

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte

REC. 91

105-165706-8-203

5 JUN 3 1970

DBM:dmw  
 (10)

RACIAL INTEGRITY

68 JUN 16 1970/51

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CE 157-6171 (Priority)RICHMONDAT RICHMOND, VA.Provide any available information concerning the  
travel of HOWARD CLAYTON MOORE.WFOAT WASHINGTON, D. C.[REDACTED] for any further available  
information concerning rally at Winston-Salem, N. C., 5/25/70.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Date: 5/27/70

the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)(Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM-BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source,  
advised as follows on May 25, 1970.

[REDACTED] San Francisco,  
California, contacted [REDACTED] of the NCCF Charter in  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at telephone [REDACTED] in  
Winston-Salem. [REDACTED] wanted to know if [REDACTED] knew an  
individual by the name of STEVE GREEN in [REDACTED] area and [REDACTED]  
informed him that he did not.

[REDACTED] then informed [REDACTED] that the Chapter in  
Winston-Salem is two weeks behind on payments of the papers and  
he indicated that they had had some thefts lately and had to  
get rid of some people as a result.

[REDACTED] informed [REDACTED] that DOUG MIRANDA was now in  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It is noted that DOUG MIRANDA  
was recently transferred purportedly for disciplinary reasons  
from New Haven, Connecticut, where he had been functioning in  
connection with BPP activities.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
4 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
2 - New Orleans (100-10992)(RM)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-2861)  
(1 - 157-4065)(New Orleans) 105-165706-8-202 (,INFJ)  
JAC/krh  
(10)

5 - [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

REEC

Approved 142  
Armed Forces 1970

66 JUN 1970 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SF 157-2861  
JAC/krh

The individual referred to by [REDACTED] as STEVE GREEN may be identical to an individual by the name of [REDACTED] of New Orleans, Louisiana, who was in contact with the San Francisco Chapter of the BPP on May 22, 1970, in regards to the formation of a BPP in New Orleans, Louisiana.

It is felt that [REDACTED] recalls the name and is undoubtedly somewhat confused in his United States geography.

Charlotte should specifically attempt to determine the extent of [REDACTED] activities in that area to ascertain whether he assumes charge of the Winston-Salem NCCF Chapter only, or whether he functions in a larger capacity in the Southeastern United States in connection with his present assignment in that area.

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-2

DATE: JUN 22 1970

FROM: [Signature] SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

2 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

1- BLACK PANTHER PARTY - EDUCATION &amp; TRAINING SF (157-2592)

#2 1:12p wbf ie

[REDACTED] MAY 22 1970

[REDACTED] to UNW. [REDACTED] is calling from Winston Salem and wants to know if they are sending him the tapes on Communal living by HUEY (NEWTON). UNW does not know. He wants to talk with DAVID (HILLIARD) and UNW tells him that DH is out of town.

REC. 84

105-165706-8-201

JUN 22 1970

FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

(5cc)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

XXXXXX  
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XXXXXX**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
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SECTION OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 1 1970

TELETYPE

NR006 CE PLAINTEXT

450 PM URGENT 6-1-70 ABP  
TO: DIRECTOR AND NEW HAVEN  
FROM: CHARLOTTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

|              |
|--------------|
| Mr. Tolson   |
| Mr. DeLoach  |
| Mr. Walters  |
| Mr. Mohr     |
| Mr. Bishop   |
| Mr. Casper   |
| Mr. Callahan |
| Mr. Conrad   |
| Mr. Feit     |
| Mr. Gale     |
| Mr. Rosen    |
| Mr. Sullivan |
| Mr. Tavel    |
| Mr. Soyars   |
| Tela Room    |
| Miss Holmes  |
| Miss Gandy   |

(BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM, BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE -  
ONE SIX FIVE SEVEN ZERO SIX SUB EIGHT, NEW HAVEN FILE ONE  
HUNDRED - ONE NINE ONE EIGHT SIX, CHARLOTTE FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN  
- SIX ONE SEVEN ONE.

[REDACTED], RM, - BPP, BUFILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW HAVEN FILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CHARLOTTE FILE [REDACTED]

SPLIT HAS OCCURRED IN BPP GROUP AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

FORMER AREA CAPTAIN ROBERT TAYLOR GREER IS NOW OUT ALONG WITH  
INDIVIDUALS LOYAL TO HIM. [REDACTED] THERE ARE  
ABOUT SIX MEMBERS LEFT AT WINSTON-SALEM ALONG WITH TWO OR

THREE "FLEDGING" PANTHERS LOYAL TO LARRY LITTLE AND BILL  
RICE. Classified by 4838 Exempt from GDS, Category II Date of Declassification Indefinite  
END PAGE ONE 1/15/75. Per Charlotte until 1/17/75.  
(2/4/75 CTT.)

REC-2

105-165706-8-199

52 JUN 8 1970 COPY SENT IDIU  
JUN 5 1970

16  
JUN 5 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY INDEX 61-17-12076

[REDACTED] WINSTON-SALEM, DETERMINED DOUGLAS MIRANDA WILL NOT  
BE AVAILABLE UNTIL JUNE TWO SEVENTY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE DIRECTOR AIRTEL MAY TWO SEVENTY CAPTIONED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RM - BPP."

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

NEW HAVEN PER INSTRUCTIONS OF REFERENCED AIRTEL,  
[REDACTED] IF LOCATED YOUR AREA. IF NOT, FURNISH  
BACKGROUND DATA TO CHARLOTTE, AT WHICH TIME CHARLOTTE WILL

[REDACTED]  
END.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM : H. [initials] SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: MAY 28 1970

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

4/24/70

[redacted] TO UNKNOWN. [redacted] calling from Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Wants [redacted] says we want film "Off the Pigs". [redacted] was going to ship it to them. [redacted] says send it for we haven't seen any of them. [redacted] says no charge but freight charges. [redacted] says air bill 151 7530 Delta Air Lines Flight #124.

REC-23

105-165706-8-198

8 JUN 3 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC

(S-6) JUN 19 1970

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 5/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 5/5/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of LHM re captioned matter. Copies have been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

Also enclosed are three copies each for the New York and San Francisco Divisions; two copies for the New Haven Division; and one copy each for the Atlanta, Baltimore and Los Angeles Divisions.

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM) **ENCLOSURE 105-165706-8-197**  
1 - Baltimore (Enc. 1) (Info) (157-3241) (RM)  
1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (Info) (157-1503) (RM)  
2 - New Haven (Encs. 2) (Info) (100-1918) (RM)  
3 - New York (Encs. 3) (100-161993) (RM)  
(1 - Black Panther Party)  
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3 - San Francisco (2 - 157-2375) (Encs. 3) (RM)  
(1 - 157-1485)  
6 - Charlotte  
(2 - 157-6171 BPP)  
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4 MAY 29 1970

RACIAL MATTERS

BY: HOW FORW:  
K1 in 1900

AGENCY: ACSI, GME, OST, SEC  
DEPT: ISD, GRD  
DATE FORW: JUN 3 1970

APPROVED BY: [Signature]  
(19) Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Investigation at Winston-Salem, North Carolina was conducted by SA [redacted]

The copy of the recording is being maintained as an exhibit in the Charlotte Office. If the Bureau or any office receiving this communication so desires, a copy can be made and furnished.

LEAD:

CHARLOTTE

AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments within the Black Panther Party in the Charlotte Division.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

May 27, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina dated May 5, 1970, captioned as above.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

The following is a transcript of the tape recording

[REDACTED]

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1-17

ENCLOSURE

The following comments were made by LARRY LITTLE:

"I'm Larry Little and I'm the Lieutenant of Information for the local political bureau of the Black Panther Party and we're having this rally in support of our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, who is now facing the electric chair, who is now being tried and I say this trial don't amount to nothing but a tactiment (phonetic) form of racism. In the state of Connecticut, if Brother BOBBY SEALE is convicted, he can be sent to the electric chair. So, we'd like for everyone to keep that in mind. You know, 28, 29 Panthers as of today have been murdered.

"The album that you have been listening to is called 'Seeds of Time' by the Black Panther Party. 'Seeds of Time' by ELAINE BROWN, the Deputy Minister of Information for the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party. The song, this album is nothing more than it articulates the feelings of the Black Panther Party and the song that you're going to hear right now, that we would like for you all to listen very carefully to, because the brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party step forward trying to help black people in gaining their emancipation. And as I said 29 Panthers have been murdered by the American government. There's no distinction between the Pig Department because they are lackeys of this United States Government.

"So, the record that we're going to play at this particular time is called 'Assassination' and we would like for you to pay careful attention to it because I know it's one of my favorites and I wish you could really get down deep with this. The sister is talking about two Panthers who were murdered. And our Alprentice, BUNCHY CARTER (phonetic) and JOHN JEROME HUGGINS (phonetic) on the UCLA campus. These brothers were the Deputy Minister of Defense and the Deputy Minister of Information from the LA Chapter of the Black Panther Party. They were killed by two nigger United States agents from the US organization, which is headed by an agent for the United States Government called, his name is RON KARENKA, but these brothers were shot down in the back.

"And we want to play this song, and this is in memory of all Panthers, all black people, all poor oppressed people, who died in the struggle. There still has to be a struggle for complete emancipation.

"And now, we're trying to get the album down here. The album, it is not fancy. It is put out by Vote (phonetic) Record Company and has a lot of beautiful songs on it. I think that you really have to be completely in the struggle to understand what this sister is coming from. She has a beautiful voice.

"You know, you don't know how long we're going to be on the set because this American Government is moving into open Fascism. You got to understand that they aren't just attacking Chairman BOBBY SEALE in Connecticut. They're attacking black people period. And see, that's what you got to understand. RALPH ABERNATHY, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that the government is now dealing with the Black Panther Party and pretty soon they'll be dealing with SCLC and the NAACP. Anyone who's in opposition to the way this power structure is treating our people and who acts in a revolutionary manner. The power structure is going to try to deal with them. The power structure is going to try to deal with them. And you better understand that. You had better understand, that times we get up about 6 o'clock in the morning, at least 7 o'clock, I don't know what's going on, but it seems like we're always called away, you know, on an emergency or something of some kind.

"I may have to reach one of the brethren, you know, some kind of emergency is coming up. You know, I'm going to have to leave.

"But getting back to what I said before, you get up, you know, 6 o'clock in the morning, feeding little children in the black community if we possibly can, free breakfast every morning. This is not, we're not concerned about just trying to show off or trying to get any glory for this. We just simply know that these children have to be fed and so we're going to feed them by any means necessary. This next song, I know you're sort of tired of songs. You say well I didn't come here for all of that. Let me tell you. You ought to come here for it sometimes. You can

EE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

go to these rock and roll shows and go to all this other shit and stand around for four or five hours and talk about we want more. So you ought to stay here all the damn day.

"You got Panthers, you got brothers who are out here courageously and you've got sisters out here courageously trying to fight for your damn freedom out here, for all of our freedom. So we're going to have to start supporting black people who are moving. So, if you have to stay here to 12 o'clock, well damn it, you spend 357 other days jiving around, so you should be willing to stay here until 12 o'clock tonight. We have a schedule planned tonight. We had to schedule the thing and just to let you know when it is going down, our Assistant Chief of Staff, Brother June Hilliard (phonetic) and Brother Fred Bennett (phonetic) from Califonia is supposed to be getting down. They won't make it. However, we have a replacement for the program. We have taken Brother Darruba who has just been released from prison from the New York 21. And we expect him to come here any minute now. He has got his plane out of New York. And we expect Brother Darruba from the New York 21 to be coming down here to talk to the people and in addition to our speaker, we have our allowance for today.

"And you got to start moving. You got to intensify the struggle. And I want you to know how we feel sometimes when we are out here every day trying to serve you. Trying to help and do whatever we can to change unjust conditions that exist in this country politically, economically, and socially. So this next song is called 'The Panther.' It's called 'The Panther' and so we want you to dig on it, we want you to dig on it.

"Other than those who are affiliated with the Black Panther Party, I'd like to know who really knows what the song is about? They tell me, you know, I'm unpredictable at times that they don't know what I'm going to say when I get up here. And I won't be knowing it myself. That's why I don't bother to write any speeches any more. I'm not going to get to that.

"Now what she is trying to say is that we're out here, the Black Panther Party is out here each and every day and we're trying to talk to you. We're trying to tell you about the unjust conditions that exist in this country. And you seem to look like

we're talking a foreign language, you know, to you. This country is moving, and you ought to pay close attention to this, this country is moving in a manner and fashions that are very reminiscent to the way Nazi Germany moved under Adolph Hitler. This country exterminated red people, the Indian. They've slaughtered over fifty million black people in this country, not when they were slaves, well \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible), because we're still slaves today. They're trying to make you think that they've set you free by calling you a second class citizen. But they never referred to people nowhere else in the world as second class citizens. You're either free or you're a slave. So you're nothing but twentieth century slaves and don't be trying to tell me no shit about you're a second class citizen. You're a twentieth century slave.

"So we're trying to tell you this. We can't make it under the system we're living under. You make \$5 an hour on you go today and let them go up to \$5.50 an hour. You watch and see your rent go up. You watch your laundry go up. You watch and see your gas go up. Everything is going to go up and you still haven't made a damn thing.

"You figure if you can get your education you can make it. You can take your wife to places in society. Well, where is a nigger's place in a racist, decadent, Fascist, American society? The only people who are making it today are people who are nothing but bootlickers and lackeys of these pigs. Those are the ones who are trying to make it. So, we're saying to those who are making it, all these Uncle Toms, that we are taking up money right now, as bad as we need the money. We're taking up money right now at least we got a start this day, I started with something. They are taking up money for all bootlickers and Uncle Toms, and we're going to get you a one-way ticket to Florida or North to South Carolina. A one-way ticket to South Carolina. All you Uncle Toms, we want you to know now, we're getting you a one-way ticket to all jive-time brothers who are pushing this dope and shit into the black community. All the mother-fuckers who are putting that shit in the community, giving you a one-way ticket too. We're going to start giving you a one-way ticket too. We're giving you a ticket to South Carolina, a one-way ticket.

If you, if you accept the one-way ticket to South Carolina, you'll be safe. We can guarantee your safety. But if you don't accept we can't guarantee you a damn thing.

"At this time now, our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, used to be an actor, you probably know this. But Marlon Brando started supporting the Black Panther Party because he knew our Chairman BOBBY SEALE because BOBBY used to be an actor and a comedian. BOBBY was going to Meredith (phonetic) College along with our Minister of Defense, that was Brother HUEY P. NEWTON. They were going to Meredith (phonetic) College and they just left Meredith (phonetic) College because the education that they were getting, the same as education in all these institutions, don't tell me about you're going to a black school. There's no such damn thing because the education is being dictated by the minority ruling class. Now you better believe it.

"That's where it's coming from. History is of pig, by pig and for pig.

"At Yale University I understand that about 80 per cent of the student body voted, ~~to~~ the university down in support of the Black Panther Party and the struggle and the movement to have Chairman BOBBY SEALE set free. And Yale is probably the leading university in this country. Along with Yale and Columbia, Harvard and Berkeley.

"Now you look at these black institutions. Let's just take Winston-Salem State right here. The niggers are so trained over there they can't even come out to a rally and support Chairman BOBBY SEALE. Them niggers are so trained. It's so far, they've got them in such a bag over there, and I was over there the first part of the year but I had to leave because that shit was sort of out of harmony with the way my mind was functioning. All that needs to be done over at Winston-Salem State is for the pigs down at the pig pen, Mayor Benton, to pick up his phone and say operator, get me the plantation. The operator says something like which plantation? Plantation Number One, that's what BENTON would say. Well who you want to speak to? Give me House nigger Williams, that's the first one he's going to call for. And then when he calls to Williams, now last year look at all the institutions all

over the country that have been rebelling. Winston-Salem State was rebelling last year for what? Lab machines and shit like this. Lab machines \_\_\_\_\_ (rest of sentence unintelligible).

"So Mayor BENTON calls WILLIAMS up over there, Mayor BENTON calls WILLIAMS up over there and said, Mayor BENTON said, dig on this, look here Tom, Tom you ain't doing your job. You got to pacify those niggers over there. My boss, they ain't asking for nothing but just labs, and if you get some labs and stuff they'll be quiet. And so Pig BENTON starts oinking, oink, oink oink, you know. Started saying that you know, \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible). This is how ridiculous it is over there. This is how ridiculous it is over there. You got niggers walking around today, you know, trying to be cool, you know (rest of sentence unintelligible). And don't even have a political education, nothing but electronic niggers walking around here. That's all we have around here, electric niggers.

"I was invited by the students from Atkins High School and R. J. Reynolds High School to speak there and the students were all for it. It got back to the principal, Principal DEATON (phonetic), and I think it was HOBSON, HOBSON (phonetic). They didn't want us over there. We got over there anyway, for a teacher sneaked us in some kind of way and we spoke to about three classes over there. And the students could really dig where we were coming from. But it was sad though, it's sad the way they're getting trained in schools.

"So you're talking about busing, you integration-mad niggers. You're talking about busing. Well I don't think the most important thing is where your child goes to school or who he goes to town with. I think the most important thing is what's being taught. And see that's what you got to start, that's the way you got to start thinking. I don't mind going to school with anyone. I don't mind, I don't care what color they are. But you got to start believing and knowing that what's being taught is the most important thing.

"Looking back at this last election, a lot of people want to know why we didn't come out and endorse any candidates. I don't tell you about them. I saw about one or two that were running the program that I consider to be halfway workful to the way of revolutionaries. The rest of it was nothing but racial pig asses. That's right. And like I say, I don't care whose auditorium it is. I don't care. So if you voted yesterday, you shouldn't. Yeah, you got brother LUCAS and brother MC MANUS, somebody else, I forgot his name, who you might could have voted for. But the big thing that you ought to pay attention to is the way your so-called leaders in the city, the way these Uncle Tom leaders sold black people down the river to that pig called SHIRLEY (phonetic). Now that's what you ought to pay attention to. The ones that you consider to be your leaders, those are the ones that sold you out. And what is he doing, promoting the establishment. Those are the ones who you ought to deal with. Some of your ministers, the ones that you go to church to every Sunday to hear talk that shit, those ones who are inviting that pig to church.

"And so if you can understand where I'm coming from, you'll know why they're trying to get us off the set. Because they don't want crazy niggers like me up here talking.

"All right, the next song, what time do you have brother? I just had to fill in a few words to hold a little time until Brother DARRUBA gets here. On our film, we'll probably show a film, we have made contact over two weeks ago to have the film 'The Pigs' shown at this rally. The film was sent out for our national distribution last night about 10 o'clock, wasn't that right? That was supposed to have got here at 5 o'clock this morning. We went up there and tried to get our film and those mother-fuckers in the airport, those aeronautical fools won't let us have our film. And that's what's going on. The brothers called us, gave us the flight number and everything on the film. And it was supposed to be here. It should have been here at 5 o'clock. I guess they don't want us looking at them. They don't want you looking at the film. Because it's something else than the shit that you see on television every day. So I guess that Pig BENTON, Mayor

Fun' Benton and Justus Pig, Dog Tucker, I guess they're looking at them right now. I guess all dogs are looking at our film because I know damn sure the thing was supposed to have been here. At 5 o'clock this morning, it was supposed to have been here at 5 o'clock this morning. We got called and \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) at 5 o'clock this morning. And we got up there and you ought to all put pressure on them. Start calling the airport.

"When we get ready to sell our papers, sometimes it's supposed to get in on Friday evening. We might not see it until that Thursday and the paper is over a week old. And we can't sell a whole lot of old papers to the people. We have been doing it, but we're trying to apologize to the people. It's simply \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible). In the future we're going to put out a local newspaper here. We're going to be exposing this decadent American society and we're also going to expose these Uncle Toms around here because our national newspaper, we don't know how much longer we'll be able to get it from California. Because the government is trying to sabotage the black press, the same as they've always done. We don't know whether, we expect it. We don't know when we're going to get the newspapers from here on out. We don't know when RICHARD NIXON is going to give the word to stop those Panther newspapers from being published. So we're in the midst of trying to combat that by putting out a local newspaper and I guess then they'll still, I guess then on that number, they'll try to murder us all and what will you be doing? Will they were some brave brothers but they're dead now.

"See, a lot of people say why do you get on the people's country to rally. It's simply because that a lot of them are just here to signify. They don't know a damn thing. They relate out here. You're out here a couple of yours, you talk about the rally and what do you do when you go the other seven or six days? What do you do? Going out here fighting against your people. That's all you're doing. And so they come out here to see because the Panthers are some bad niggers and you can show people that you are not the kind. But it is all of you all, all of yourselves, inside,

sneaking out every time they railroad a brother, railroad a brother, then all of you all are simply giving a silent vote. You're giving a silent vote. You're letting NIXON murder Panthers in the name of the silent majority. So we're saying you're part of the solution or you're part of the problem.

"I looked out, you know I looked out here to see what the mass media is. I think we have a few here. I want a message, I want to give a message to you, from Brother Eldridge Cleaver. Brother Eldridge Cleaver says that you are some very intelligent people and you know what you're doing and you're writing these articles in the paper. But see, we look at the mass media, the newspapermen, as being nothing but lackeys for the government. The news media we believe is government-controlled. So Brother Eldridge says, I believe Stalin said, Joseph Stalin said that the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) of criticism will never equal the criticism of \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible). These pigs in the mass media, when you hear about BOBBY SEALE, they say he is being held for the alleged murder of a Panther member, Brother ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic). Brother ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic) was a beautiful member of the Black Panther Party, a functioning brother. And he was killed by the government, and their chief witness, who is a nigger, and just believe that they'll buy niggers off cheaper by the dozen today. And you still as Masi said, looking at a mod squad with that Pig Clarence Williams mod squad nigger. They're toughing up brothers and sisters today. The mass media doesn't come out and say that Chairman BOBBY SEALE, I mean that ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic) was a beautiful brother of the Black Panther Party. The free breakfast program has been named after brother ALEX RACKLEY. I never heard the mass media say this. So I think you know what you're doing, too.

"So when you start, Eldridge also said that information is the raw material for new ideas. If people continue to get misinformation then they're going to have some brand new fucked up ideas, fucked up ideas. So, the mass media has criticized enough in words, that the pen should be mightier than the sword, but it's not. We say throw down that pen and take up the sword. So the only way that we can deal with the mass media is when they start disseminating this kind of information for the national \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) I think you'll agree to that won't you? Say right on to that.

"Like I say, you ought to check by the headquarters as soon as possible. We don't have the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) keeping BOBBY SEALE from going to the electric chair. It should have been sold, it should have been, the place should have been packed. People should have been all in the aisles. People should have been trying to get a seat. That's the way it should be. Now let me tell you, we don't have any funds and we're going to need some funds to continue the struggle. Like, you know, one of our brothers yesterday was, pig MATTHEWS, the leader of pigs in the Pig Department, arrested one of our brothers, just took him down, you know, and he was downtown selling newspapers. You see, they didn't convict him, but see, we did have to get an attorney because, I mean (unintelligible). There's no justice for black people in the courts anyway. Because the courts are not functioning for black people anyway.

"So we did have to pay an attorney, and so that's what they're trying to do. They're just trying to snatch us up off on five-time charges to just, you know, get the little money that we do have. The only money that we really get is from selling our newspapers and every once in a while, I mean sometimes during the month, some beautiful person from the community will come and make a donation. So, when you start, think about it when you go down here to buy some of these downtown records, that really I'm going to get you the freedom, why don't you drop by and contribute that to the breakfast program. Because right now these avaricious businessmen, they're not contributing to the breakfast program the way they should. So, we're going to move on them on a higher level also.

"And I guess you know what we're talking about. And if you ain't ready to start talking like this, then all I can say is for you to just stay in the house, lay up under the bed, and pray. Try to hide up under your bed and pray. For the brothers who are going out here to make these pigs pay the price. They're making a profit off black people from the black community. Therefore, they ought to turn over some of that money to such a worthy program like the children's breakfast program. That's what they need to do.

"And so we're going to have to start dealing with them, but we need your cooperation also, because our party, the Black Panther Party, is not a party for itself. It is a party for the people. We consider ourselves as nothing but people's servants. We don't consider ourselves as going all out, you know, just putting our lives on the line. We're really, this is our duty to do this. It's our duty to do this. And you better believe it's our duty. So when we start talking about ways of struggle and time, it's time to really be a public servant, let's start talking about I'm a

(unintelligible). We're out here every day trying to bring people to their consciousness to what's going on. We're just warning, if you don't have your shit uptight then don't have your shit together, you stay away. Don't come around trying to talk this stuff to me or any other person who is a hard-working servant of the people, in a nice community trying to tell us how you believe in this. We say theory is cool, but theory without practice ain't shit. So when you come to me trying to talk that stuff, don't

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(The tape skips here for a few seconds and the LITTLE's speech goes on as follows.)

"Recognize it and see slavery out of a social system that is really killing us. Panthers (phcnetic) is called revolution and you think of it now when you start calling yourself a revolutionary. It's Spiro Agnew, it's Spiro Agnew. It's Mayor Pig Benton.. It's Mayor Pig Justus Tucker. It is anybody who is standing in the way of our damn freedom, because we'll get our damn freedom by any damn means necessary.

"You aren't ready for that. No, you aren't ready for that. I don't know, I told you I was going to talk, I told you when I was taking over the rally. And I told you I didn't know what I was going to say when I got up here. So, next you're just going to have to make me a speaker because you should have let me be the emcee. That's what I was supposed to have been, the emcee.

"Now I get carried away. I say you're party. You aren't ready for those songs. JAMES BROWN can get us that. He's talking black and proud and having black people work in his restaurant,

the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) restaurant, for 1.25 an hour. So deal with him. Deal with him. I can dig the music, I can dig the beat because I'm a nigger. But I'm saying this, that it's about time to start dealing for your freedom. And you ain't going to get no freedom by talking about let a man come in and do the Pop Corn. You better believe that.

"So, that's it for me. We're going to bring on our next speaker. And by this time I hope Brother DARRUBA gets here. (Next sentence unintelligible).

"Our next speaker, a sister in the party, a sister in the national committee here. I have great, I have respect for this sister because I remember one time when she first showed up at our headquarters talking about she wanted to be politically educated. I mean, I thought the woman was just going to come here for a couple of days and then just slip away as CLARENCE CARTER (phonetic) said. But she stayed on in there. She's come a long way. This sister is now holding the position of Minister of Finance and this sister is our first speaker, is sister SLACK THOMAS (phonetic). I don't need to say anything else sister. Come on and talk to the people."

(The following speech was made by SLACK THOMAS.)

"All power to the people. (The people repeat this statement.) You don't act like you mean it. All power to the people! (The people repeat this again.) Right on.

"I don't think that very much more needs to be said. Brother LARRY has covered quite a variety of things and it leaves the others of us up here, you know, hanging out on a limb. But I hope you dug on it and I hope you take some of this in stride, and start thinking about it, man, because we don't have much time out here. The man's not going to let us be on the scene much longer. So you better dig on where he's coming from.

"I have something written out . . . (next few words unintelligible). I don't know what to say. But first of all I want to talk to you a little bit about the way that the government has used the press to deleviate (phonetic) the people's minds against the real truth of various situations. And if some of you niggers aren't careful, you're going to get caught in this thing, running around here hating yourself and loving the man, while at the same time you're catching hell from that man on your job and in the street and everywhere else. You let that man maneuver you into thinking it's wrong to fight him, while he's fighting you. That man's fighting you while you're sitting at home sleeping, while you're at home drinking with \_\_\_\_\_ (nintelligible), and your man is away from what's really happening to you, and that man is sitting there plotting out a scheme to get rid of all you niggers. To put all you niggers in concentration camps out here somewhere.

"And you're sitting around here on your give-times and wear your mini dresses and go down to \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) and think you got it made man, but you got to wake up. Because when the shit comes down . . . . (rest is unintelligible.)"

(The following introductory comments were made by LARRY LITTLE.)

"We're going to have our last speaker from Winston-Salem, I say the Winston-Salem section of Babylon. You know it's no different, no difference. It's no difference between the North and the South. And the North can kill you with a Northern accent and the South could kill you with a Southern accent. So that's the only difference. They oppress you in a Northern-like manner and the South oppresses you the same damn way. So, the next speaker is brother, lieutenant of our national committee here, one who had to come through a lot of thick and thin and realized he had to be a people's servant. I don't know what I would say about the brother, a member of our Central Staff here. Here Lieutenant, Brother Bill Rice."

(The following comments were made by BILL RICE.)

"All power to the people. (The people repeat this.)

"I don't know what to say. I was getting rather nervous when the brother was rapping about me. The last time I spoke some people came to me to say that LARRY used a lot of vulgar language as you call it, a lot of bad words, so I promised myself and my other comrades and I think I'm in a position to say fuck that, fuck that.

"Like the brother has already stated 29 Panthers has already been murdered, got brothers and sisters in jail. We're still not free, so there's not much to talk about. It's time for some action. The Fascist government has been wsging a tax on the Black Panther Party from the very first beginning of the party's existence. I'm quite sure by now everybody knows who laws are made for. Everyone knows that laws are made of the pigs, by the pigs, and for the pigs.

"We say that social practice is the criteria for the truth. We have a lot of people today running around with their own little ideas. We have a lot of theoriticians telling about practices that ain't worth a fuck. You got to put your shit into social practice.

"The Fascist government is already railroading our Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, who is now in jail. And now they're trying to railroad our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, in the electric chair of the state of Connecticut. The Fascist government released the political police of the FBI and thrown away all pretenses of justice and equality under the law. This says that the Constitution of the United States has been replaced by out-right Fascist terror and open oppression. Fascist NIXON, AGNEW, the MITCHELL regime, has planned to murder chairman BOBBY SEALE. This pre-planned murder is nothing but an attempt of genocide against black people. The Black Panther Party teaches that society is divided into classes, but we will not take class to the extent that it will be suicide for black people. Those white people who call themselves our friends will be tested by our social practices. Those whites who wish to carry on the class struggle will have to start " king commitments to the destruction of this decadent society. (next sentence unintelligible.)

"We do not intend to see our chairman nor any other brother and sister stay in jail for the rest of their lives. You know the American people, the American people are very corrupt. They are very deeply imbued with this greedy dog-eat-dog philosophy. They don't give a damn about other people. They don't even give a damn about each other. And as long as this Fascist government is able to provide enough jobs, as long as the government is able to cop-up the economy by manufacturing raw materials, as long as the government is able to keep the checks coming in to our people, then we find it very hard to deal with the people.

"As the brother already stated, the Fascist pigs are coming into the communities, rapping on the people. They rap on one brother, they rap on all brothers and sisters. The Fascist pig must withdraw from the black communities, or face the wrath of our people. It's just like that. It's time to decide whether you're going to be a friend of RICHARD NIXON or whether you're going to be a friend of BOBBY SEALE.

"There's no middle of the road. You can't stand in the middle of the road. You're either part of the problem or part of the solution. And we say we would much rather be a part of the solution than any part of the problem. My reaction to the railroading of Chairman BOBBY, to the taking this beautiful revolutionary brother off the streets of Babylon, my reaction should be just like any other brother in the party, any other black person, any other poor oppressed person in this entire country. We all should say fuck the pigs, fuck them. I say this because if they fuck with Chairman BOBBY, then they fuck with all black people.

"We understand that where we got a struggle there's sacrifices. Wherever there's a struggle there's sacrifices. But the only sacrifice that must be made in this struggle is the neck of the pig, the neck of the pig.

"I'd like to leave you with this last thought and just think about it. All poor oppressed people in the country, all poor oppressed people in the state, all poor oppressed people in the city of Winston-Salem and everybody in this auditorium,

consider this. It's a matter, it's a case of mind or matter. If the people don't mind then the pigs don't matter. All power to the people."

(The following comments were made by LARRY LITTLE.)

"Well, we're getting to the last speaker, the main speaker for this rally to come out and express the side that's being held, to express solidarity, the Black Panther Party, the local national committee. This next speaker, I've been telling you about how long we were waiting for him to get in, is Brother DARRUBA. This brother just got out of the pig pen about a month ago. He was in the New York Panther 21.

"And brothers, being just railroaded and like I said, the courts were just nothing but, these trials are nothing but a tactiment (phonetic) form of racism. Brother DARRUBA was busted because the pigs knew that he was very instrumental in trying to help awaken the people and to educate them to the strategic methods of resistance against this oppressive power structure. As I said, 21 party members were ripped off in New York.

"Just Thursday, Wednesday or Thursday, 18 members from the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party were ripped out. Thursday past, 18 members in the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party were ripped off, busted on jive-time charges. And we still got niggers talking about I'm trying to get my shit together.

"Well, this brother just spend a year in the pig pen subjected to all sorts of inhuman-like treatment. And brothers, you got to have a lot of respect for the brother because if he wasn't made out of the bone and if he wasn't armed with the teachings of the genius of the Minister of Defense, HUEY P. NEWTON or Chairman BOBBY SEALE, Brother ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, we don't know whether he would be right here. See, it's very easy for you to go to the pig pen and just get frightened out. The only thing I can say about Brother DARRUBA is, he's too revolutionarily, proletarially intoxicated to become astronomically intimidated

by this racist American government. I don't know. I haven't been there yet. I know it will be any day. But like I said, sisters were railroaded and they tried to keep them from the other prisoners. The reason they are looking at some articles by Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, he's in prison serving fifteen years, forget about that two to fifteen years, serving fifteen years. They're upset because 95 per cent of the prisoners, black prisoners, he educated and they are now Panthers. They are now Panthers. So what they're trying to do is isolate brothers and sisters in another prison. A lot of them are just illegitimate prisoners and they deserve to be out because we say in number eight of our Ten-Point Program that they have not received a fair and impartial trial as supposed to be carried by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. As I said, the brother, I don't know what else to say about the brother, because I know for him to come out of that pig pen for over a year and to get out here and continue to speak out and act in a revolutionary manner against this racist, capitalist, imperialist, Fascist government, then he must really be a people's servant. He must really have his heart in the people.

"And so he's out-and-out, like I said, they jar him, but like they have to say it, you can jar a revolutionary but you can't kill the revolution. You can kill a revolutionary but you can't kill the revolution. Or you can run a freedom fighter, you can run a freedom fighter all over this country but you can't run freedom fighting all around this country. You dig?

"So here is the main speaker for this rally, I don't know brother, like I say he's just beautiful. The pigs, I'm surprised they let him get here all \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) or get in the airplane. The FBI, it looked like there wasn't anything but pigs and Panthers on the plane, so this brother here just got in from New York to speak to you all. People's servant, revolutionary, Brother DARRUBA."

(The following speech was made by Brother DARRUBA.)

"Right on, right on, right on, right on, right on. Like I don't usually come South. I think the furthest South I've been is the South ferry (phonetic) in New York. But I see out here a whole lot of beautiful black young people. I even see some white mother country radicals sprinkled here and there. I see some . . . I see some brothers and sisters who are a little bit older, but they haven't fell for long-nose (phonetic) NIXON's generation gap. But they're here too.

"See, I think, I think that one of the first impressions I got when I got off the plane was how brown and how dark the soil was in North Carolina. And being born in Harlem, that is a mind blow to see very dark rich soil. And the first thing that hit my mind was why that soil is dark and rich. That soil is dark and rich because there was dark and rich blood that soaked it and made it into a fertile soil. And that blood and those tears was the blood and tears of millions of black people.

"So we're going to talk about that. We're going to talk about a system that thrives on sucking people's blood. A system where black people are forced to live in conditions that deny them all semblance of humanity, that denies them all outlets of self-creativity. We're going to talk about these racist dogs like, what's that fuck's name, BENTON, red-neck BENTON. We're going to talk about that flathead because I'd like to ride on him. I'd like a whil' on him. The ~~black~~ gave me a word on him as soon as I came here and I jottea them down. I've got him with a line under his name. So I'm going to curse him out first. Because I know he's no good it his name is RAY and he's from the South.

"So, before we get to cursing out BENTON, I want all the brothers and sisters here to realize that as far as black people are concerned in a racist Babylon in twentieth century America, there's no difference between geographic positions. There's no difference between the North and there's no difference between the South. Ain't nothing changes but the address. And I think that once we make that basic fundamental realization, we can understand why a black person will get off a bus in Chitling Switch (phonetic), Georgia and the first thing he does is turn to the right hand of the dial on the radio to pick up on some soul music, because we know that niggers is always on the right hand of the dial. If you want to

know what's happening go to the right hand of the dial. (Next sentence unintelligible.)

"So I feel very much at home here. And the brothers were worrying about my safety and so forth and so on, fuck that, the pigs didn't care anything about my safety off in the Tombs in New York, and I figure if the people could wait here this long to hear me rap, I don't feel that any fool out there with a gun could scare me off from talking to you. So, I'm going to talk to you.

"But we have to really stop and do some real deep down thinking about these punks who walk in our faces and call themselves our mayors, call themselves our governors, and call themselves Senators and Congressmen and claim and allege to be leaders of us, whether they're black or whether they're white. I think what we have to start to do is get together like Malcolm said, behind some closed doors and start cursing each other out and coming out with some resolutions and with some concrete programs for action. And I think that at this particular important time we should realize as black people that being black is no longer sufficient. It no longer will get it. Because I think that Mitchell and Nixon and his prostitute-assed (phonetic) wife, I think that they are ready to concede black people their blackness. I think Mitchell has turned around and said to Thurgood Marshall and James Farmer, you're black, I'll concede that. Your hair is nappy (phonetic) and you wear a dashiki and you're black and I recognize that fact. So when we realize that when Nixon can get on TV and say what we need is black power, we have to re-evaluate our position and our stand.

"I think, I think what black people need most of all is to be able to define who are their friends and who are their enemies. I don't think we should allow the color of one's skin to get in the way of that. This is not to say our position and our stand is somehow compromised the relationship to our people. We fell that history has taught us that all oppressed people, whoever they are, will never succeed in their struggle for liberation and self-determination unless they accurately define their enemies and their friends.

"So, we're going to do a little definition tonight. We're going to do a little defining tonight. We're going to see that the Black Panther Party's position is very clear. We oppose pork chop nationalism, dashiki liberation. We oppose that because a dashiki can't stop a 357 from one of these racist state troopers. Afros, afros, won't keep our door closed when the pigs decided to kick it in. Only sand bags and fortification will and some guns to back that up.

"So, we're saying that the paramount issue before black people now is the issue of survival as a people. And if we cannot survive as a people, and if those people in the white mother country cannot relate to us surviving as a people, then we classify them as being pigs and we classify them as racists. We have no alternative because if they condone with their silence our murder and our oppression, they condone what's being done to us as black people by their silence. So, therefore, they condone the activities of pigs and they make the statement by their actions that we're not human and we don't deserve freedom, we don't deserve to protect our families and dogs out here.

"So fuck them, and if they come around our way, we're going to shoot them.

"I think, I think that keeping that in mind all those people in the white mother country who say that what's being done to the Black Panther Party and what's being done to black people in general by the Fascist regime in Washington, who say that they cannot condone that repression of murder on black people and the party and take active steps in the struggle against those forces of reaction, the struggle against these fools and idiots who oink in our faces and who will relate to picking up the gun and doing with it, we can say right on. Because we realize the essence of being black is not the color of one's skin. The essence of being black is whether we're revolutionary or not. That's the essence of being black.

"So we have come to a point in time where the situation demands that we put forth a policy, position, and a line that conforms with all the shit that we're up against. All the madness that the pigs are off into and trying to lead the people into.

"This demonstrates Fascism of Mitchell's and Agnew's preparing to inflict on us. And that position can be aptly stated, simply stated, as either or. Either we are for the liberation of our people and we in some degree and some manner actively try to forward that liberation, or we're content with our life and material possessions, we're content with our electronical slavery.

(At this point the tape skips for a few seconds, and another speaker is speaking.)

"Because we know how the man was going to, that he understood. Oh, we looked at our furniture in this lady's house, Miss \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) house. Even the community helped put that in the house. And other ladies will do that if she stays in that home. I hope she don't mind my recognizing her. But it's people like, I don't know the lady's name, but she's in here, who make me keep fighting on, and that's this sister right here. Stand up sister.

"Those are the people that make me fight on. Those are the people. She don't have it, she's not hung up on all that philosophy and stuff like that. The lady just needed someplace to stay, so we said that she was going to stay right in that same house and if any pig came in and tried to throw the furniture out, we're going to blow their mother-fucking brains out.

"I know we got a few ministers in here. I tried to explain to a lot of them that I just can't stop from cursing, but like I say, they have to learn to understand that . . . (interrupted by someone in audience and clapping.) They have heard it before. They have heard it before. They probably curse, let me tell you, I bet they probably curse more than I do. I'm telling you. Right on. They curse more than I do. I mean like a lot of times when I tell them they're jiving around, they try to press me by just cursing, you know, cursing here and there. But when they get to me, they start talking to me, they have me thinking that I'm \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) and they're the revolutionaries. That's the way they are. That's the way they are. They don't talk that stuff. They like to get to you in private. I want to see you for a minute, and just talk and talk. But they don't like to be seen with us

because they know that the pigs, they're taking sister NANCE, what was that, sister NANCE's picture of the FBI. The FBI was taking our sister's picture the other day. Not the other day, it was over a month ago, and they were walking downtown to sell papers. And they told her that they were taking their picture so they could identify the bodies. Now think about it. They told her they could identify the bodies. That's what they were telling them.

"So if we know that they are dealing with our sisters so the Black Panther Party doesn't practice male chauvinism. We treat our sisters as our other hand. At least we try to. I know we make quite a few mistakes, you know, but we understand that they are our other hand and the pigs, they would deal with them just as quick as they would deal with the brothers.

"So since you got a very good ear for listening, this might be the last, this is the only time I know you've really heard some revolutionary sound. And I don't know if you know what it means. But you're going to hear it now because you could always say that you heard something that's relevant. You heard something that's relevant.

(Darruba resumes speaking.)

"All the Mitchells and Agnews and Nixons and Bentons, we're going on with them and we'll accept their anti-poverty programs. We'll accept their job reforms programs, and we become part of the problem. We ought to become part of the solution. And we have to move against these fools and deal with them in a righteous manner.

"Now the only criticism that these fools and idiots could understand is not the criticism of words because niggers have been saying the same thing for 450 years. I don't think that they understand us. I don't believe that the pigs are capable of getting past that obstruction, that mental block, that they have concerning black people, and that being they think niggers are stupid. They think all niggers is fools. Niggers ain't got no sense and they can't think. Unless whitey teaches us how to do something, we don't know how to do it. Now, we don't want whitey to teach us anything and that's not being a racist. We don't want the oppressor and his culture to teach us anything because it has

taught the ultimate. It has taught us to hate ourselves. So we don't want to mess with that no more.

"We're saying that we have laid this position out very clearly, because we have in New York a situation where brothers are being railroaded through the courts and a fool like MURTAUGH can sink right in our faces can say you're going to get a fair trial, nigger, whether you want it or not. They say to us, why are you making all this noise and beating up the guards in court? Why are you doing this? Do we have to put you off in the bull pen with TV? And we said MURTAUGH we know your act. We know that you're a pig, not because you want it when you try to talk but because we have a brother who just got bailed out two days ago named LEE BARRY (phonetic).

"Let me tell you a little bit about LEE BARRY. LEE BARRY was in the Pigs and Imperialist Army. Now he contracted epilepsy. And while he was in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Brooklyn, on the morning of April 3, 1969, the Fascist dog pig police, of boss, which is the equivalent of mod squad in New York, FBI Bureau's secret service or special services, it may lean heavily to Man from Uncle and Disneyland. And they stormed into the hospital and dragged LEE BARRY out of his bed. They said you're a Panther, you're a nigger and you're a terrorist. And you are under arrest.

"He thought he was being treated for epilepsy, and he was on the critical list, he was on the critical list there in the Veterans Administration hospital. They took LEE BARRY to the Tombs, one of the most despicable, one of the most hideous and barbaric institutions in New York City, and they put him in solitary confinement, and they put him on the springs with no mattresses and they didn't give him no blankets. And they threw him and locked him up in there for three months. Oh, he got out to take a shower.

"So LEE had three fits in there. He was beaten up twice by the guards. He was taken out of the hospital. He couldn't get out of jail because his bail was \$100,000. It wasn't bail, it was

random. So we say that LEE BARRY is a classic example of not what is done to a Black Panther, but what is done to black people because they would never do that to LEE if he wasn't black, and if he wasn't a revolutionary.

"So when we're looking for the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) we found that LEE BARRY is dying in that jail, sent him to the hospital, put him in the prison ward, but sent him to the hospital to give him the treatment that he needs because he's dying. Murphy said well the Department of Correction, which is the pig democracy that controls all institutions there, jails, he said that LEE BARRY is not sick enough, all the doctors there said that he was all right, that he didn't have to go to the hospital. It took us eight months to get LEE BARRY removed to the hospital.

"We went through all kinds of legal acrobatics and legal consultations, but we got LEE into the hospital. And it seems like the brothers still left him when he went into the hospital where he had a collapse. And the pigs in the average ghetto hospital, in the average prison ward, make experiments on black people every day. They use us for guinea pigs. That's what they tried to do with LEE and they diagnosed his condition as being infected kidney, an infected appendix, not an infected kidney, an infected appendix, and they removed a perfectly good appendix.

"The brother got progressively worse. His left leg was so swollen that he could not even lay down. They had to suspend him from traction. The brother had four operations and almost died. And the pigs finally after this said well, went out there in district court and said that LEE BARRY could not be present in court because they would have to bring him in on a stretcher. And he's on the critical list and the doctors don't think that he'll live. He's on that critical list because it took the courts, the racist courts, nine months to put LEE BARRY in the hospital to give him the treatment that any human being deserves.

"So we said to Murgaugh you knew this. We put BRUCE (phonetic) and RICK (phonetic) in front of you. We had doctors beg you to examine him and you ignored them because he was a black man, he was a Panther. So we're saying to Murgaugh that what was done to LEE BARRY was done to us. And when the shit is defined, we're going to take your mother-fucker head.

"I don't think that Murgaugh, I don't think that Murgaugh recognizes the extent that black people will go to acquire their liberation and their freedom. We wrote him a document trying to tell him why we could not condone the procedures in this court and the document was approximately thirty pages long. We wrote him this document. We outlined the way, how the courts had distortedly upheld the racism that was afflicted on black people, had made and legalized the laws of the land to the extent that black people were not human and were animals. The laws of this land said that and we don't believe that we can get a fair trial in any court because it has as its guidelines the standards and laws of the racist ruling class. And so we can't get a fair trial. The only place we can get a fair trial is in Harlem with the people that come off the block, the mothers and fathers who are on welfare, the brothers and sisters who slave for a God damn \$35 a week. The people who are maids downtown on East 82nd Street. That's where our jury has got to come from because that's where we're from.

"So we say that unless that happens, that black people will not acquire any justice until we start to dig what we have to do. We start to dig what they're trying to do in New Haven to BOBBY SEALE and the Connecticut Nine. We start to see this is the most blatant and overt attempt to exterminate any leadership, any revolutionary leadership that black people have. It is an overt and blatant attempt to show the black people that you'll either remain a nigger or you'll die like BOBBY SEALE.

"So I put the question before you here. Will you remain a nigger or would you pick up the gun and rather die like BOBBY SEALE would die for your ass? That's what I want to know.

Penns... if you cannot relate to freeing BOBBY SEALE and the Chicago 7 and the New York 21, then you cannot relate to your own freedom because it's not BOBBY SEALE who is on trial. It's you.

"And I think if we all say to ourselves that although I may not be capable at this time to pick me up a gun and defend myself against these Fascist dogs who are trying to murder us, although I may not be capable of devoting my time to revolutionary struggle, although I may not be capable or in a position to do this now, I condone all black people, all third world people all over the world who pick up the gun and struggle against mother-fuckers like Nixon and punks like Mitchell. And they're the enemy of mankind.

"Black people struggle here; America is the most crucial and the most important struggle of any people on the face of this earth. You have to realize that, that we are saying that the youth, the black youth of this nation are confronted with a situation that no other people in history of mankind has ever been confronted with. And that is the situation that if they can overthrow the forces of reaction here in America, the whole world will move to a higher level, because two-thirds of the world is black.

"But we must realize that this is no easy task, this is no simple task. And it won't take no year, no two years, no five years, six years. It is a long protracted struggle. That is why it's the youth, black and white, who make the revolution and it's the youth who keep the revolution. So, we're saying that if your mother and father cannot actively pick up the gun and defend the rights and humanities of black people, then they should actively condone you picking up the gun and offing the pigs.

"And I think that that's very fundamental and that we have to relate this on a political level and say to ourselves that we are not going to let those racists rip off no more of our people.

that we're not going to let them electrocute us, railroad us to prison and that before we do that, you don't do but one thing that America doesn't want niggers to do, and that's dog in the street of Babylon. We'll sit out there and we'll do the funkie chin on Mitchell's grave before we'll allow them to do that.

"I don't think, I don't think that those dried up, impudent crackers who sit up in the White House in their dusty halls and pass laws are capable of understanding the extent and the degree that black people will go to to stop that. I don't think they realize it, because the one thing that America cannot stand and the one thing they do not want is a race war. So, we're saying like, we don't want a race war either. But we're not going to sacrifice any more on an altar of inter-racial harmony the leaders of our struggle, and black people fuck that. We're not going to do it no more. And before we do that, we'll put before these pigs the consequence that they have claimed they did not want but they did everything in their damn power to bring about.

"We'll say to them, either free our people who are political prisoners in jail, we we'll institute a pirate nightmare from one end of Babylon to the other. And your national guards, your national guards, well weekend reactionaries, your part-time imperialists, and your regular army, your 82nd Airborne, and your Marine Corps, and your Special Forces, and your Air Force, your guided missiles, your atomic bombs, are all in left field and don't mean anything. You see, because you got niggers in the army, in the Special Forces, in the National Guard.

"And that is what every black man must stop to think about. And that is the issue of survival. And that issue of survival clings very crucially to the issue of whether we would allow the pigs to railroad us according to their laws or murder us in their jails. Whether we would allow that. So, if you're in the army, we're not saying come out of the army and join the Black Panther Party. We don't know if we ever took one that felt like that. Don't blow your cool. Stay in the army and ."

your captain and your colonel and your generals, off him, off him because if you don't off him, if you don't off him, he'll be right here with the whole battalion and will off your mama and papa because they're niggers. And if he said to you that Nixon said to him, colonel we got a whole lot of niggers who are restless out in those ghettos tonight. Said, you take that 530 Battalion, and you go in there and you stop all that shit any way you feel is necessary. And he'll do that. He'll bring in your community M-16's. He'll bring in your community tanks and he'll opter gunships and will shoot your mama down like she was a dog. If you don't believe he'll do it, you can dig what he has done in the past.

"So we're saying that it's a desirable condition, it's a desirable situation when the pigs will have to stand up to give orders and there will be brothers who will pull kamikaze on them, brothers who will become fanatics for their people and brothers who would break up in the seat and blow his brains out and say off the pig, jive mother-fucker, because . . . (rest is unintelligible due to applause).

"And don't think we ain't got no boys that will do that. We'd like to put a little system to this. We have to put a little of what the bloods down the street call a little finesse. We got to use a little bit of that street mentality that we possess, a little bit of that black experience and a little bit of that mojo on these folks. We got to put a little bit of blackness on them. Show them what it's all about when a nigger puts a wrench in the machinery of racism. Show them what it's all about if they want to persist.

"We have to get out here in these communities and we have to move on all levels to exterminate these faggots. We have our mamas and papas out there who may not understand what we're talking about, but if the pigs try to brutalize them there'll be some brothers like this here with guns to protect them. That's what we're talking about. And if every black man puts a gun in his home and has got sand bags in his house

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and takes the sand bags and dyes the sand bags in beautiful colors, and make it homely and make it look good. Make it a home. That's a desirable condition, that's a desirable condition because they're some black people, a family is in the house and these mad dogs that occupy our community decide to come in and shoot up the neighborhood, we'll have a little protection and our family might live. And that's desirable. And the sand bags are functional, and we can even identify them and paint flowers on them if you want to.

"So, there's a lot of niggers here who live in houses anyway instead of apartments, and sand bags are holding them up. So, that's a desirable condition and that's the way of survival of our people because we have brothers here who are going to set that example for you and show you how you can do that.

"And we don't ask the people as members of the Black Panther Party to do anything that we are afraid of doing ourselves. In fact, we'll set the examples and people can see what's happening. And that example was set in LA by the LA 18 because it took 500 police pigs and special squads and helicopters six hours just to get a lot of black people to come outside of the building. So you really should dig that and I want everybody to know why they came out. Because there was a trap. So if they was trapped the most logical thing to do was to dig a tunnel all the way to San Francisco and hold them up for six hours for this.

"So, that's a correct example that was set for black people because if anybody here has been to LA and talked to the brothers and sisters who live in the community and come off those streets, they'll tell you that when they came that morning, early in the wee hours of the morning to try to murder these brothers and sisters in their beds, they didn't just shoot up that office. They shot up the whole block. And there are brothers and sisters there who can tell you harrowing tales of how their children escaped death and ran out.

"So these gigs, these fools are insane. You see? And they're taking the orders, not from you. They took their orders from the racists who have all the money. They took the orders from fools like BENTON here and fools like Alioto out there . . .

"So we start to dig, let the pigs pick up the gun and kill us because of what we're trying to do, to acquire our freedom, is more profitable to them. So they pick up the guns for profit, and we have to pick up the gun to make it non-profitable for them to do it, to do it to us. Make them pay.

"So I think that if we were understand all of this and could sit right down to that, our next move is not no spontaneous rebellion. That's all the pigs want. Our next move is to work with these brothers here to get control of the police and this whole army. Now by get control I mean that we have to start working 24 hours a day in some way, some manner, and some form that we would take the guns out of the hands of the police and put them in the hands of the people. We have to make the police start taking orders from the people instead of the people taking orders from the pigs.

"So we have a very functional program for that and that is what we call for want of a better name, community control of the Pigs. And how we go about this is that we take the basic principle that the police should live and come from the community he works in. That way, if he busts somebody, he tries to brutalize them, or busts somebody's child and tries to brutalize them, then everybody in the block will be sitting on the stoop waiting for him to come home at night from work. He won't do that. And if he comes from that community and he lives in that community, he understands what's happening in that community, he ain't going to let nobody sell no dope to his child. He ain't going to let nobody brutalize his children. He ain't going to let nobody oppress his people, and damn sure nobody is going to come in here and shoot up his family.

I" BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"So we have to start to realize this is very functional. We also should realize on the other hand the pigs are going to back that. They'll try to murder these brothers here for advocating that. And if we want to know, and he allows it, murder. Their only strength lies with you and the community and their only desire is to serve you and to make that community something that we could be proud of and something that we could say, look mother-fucker, that \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) standing on the corner here in Winston-Salem with the police around him is a big comfort here in Winston-Salem and if you come here and try to bust him, he'll kick your ass. But this is our community and that man has done nothing to harm you. That man has done n' thing to harm us. So what are you talking about, he's under arrest? For what?

"This is what we have to start to think about that we don't have to worry any more about the pigs whipping us all, taking us out of our community, telling us what we're supposed to do, and what we can't do, and how we should do it. The only ones that can tell black people how they can acquire their freedom are black people.

"I know you can't make it. You're lucky if you can get \$50 up to pay the God damn landlord. So, it's obvious what position he's taking, so we have to say to him you no longer represent us. You're not black and you're not for the liberation of our people. What you are for is the reforming of our oppression. What you are for is a brand-new system of twentieth century slavery for us. Because any brother out here who has lived those streets, any brother or sister here who is grown up, knows that you don't sit down and play cards with somebody who's dealing with a marked deck, a marked deck. What the hell do you want to do playing a game of coup with this man here who has marked the deck? Every time you look around you're losing. So we've got to stop asking for a reshuffle of the same marked deck. We want a brand-new deck of cards.

"So that tells you, that tells you where TELLER MARSHALL's at. He's telling us that we should accept the reshuffled old dog that NIXON is all right, and that what NIXON is talking about is all right. It's just we don't understand. He's just as bad as the racists talking about, he's stupid. Anybody in their right mind could see that MARSHALL is afraid when he indicted BOBBY SEALE and the Connecticut Nine for that ridiculous shit when he indicted the Chicago Eight for what he indicted them for. We cannot allow ourselves to be divided among the issue of whether a brother is too militant or whether he's too pacifist. That is now what we're talking about. People can get up here and rap all day. What matters is what he does.

"So maybe MARSHALL could it up here and talk about the liberation of black people, but what he does is he doesn't dig. So I don't think we can accept any more of the ~~old dog~~ spokesmen of the racist ruling class. But we're going to have to make a fundamental understanding that in any society if you go all the way back to that faggot ALEXANDER. In any society that man is part of the laws, the standards, the ideals, the goals for all the people of society are necessarily the standards and ideals of the ruling class made into the law for everybody. So when they put up a \$100,000 bail for you, it's because \$100,000 is worth more than your freedom. Because you as a human being do not possess what money as a piece of paper possesses, and that's freedom, individuality, independence. Because if you possessed it you wouldn't have to acquire money, in order to get it. You wouldn't have, you would have to be up in this neon rat race, electrical dream, see.

"I think we're going to have to start printing our own money. Fuck you. The racists aren't going to give it to us. So it's your duty to get a few fat dui's here who have printing presses to start printing our own money. And when we go up to the racists with a whole stack of suitcases full of bills and say give me all them cars and tanks over there, and he says what are you paying for them, and you say cash. I know what he's going to say to you. He's going to say nigger, look at the \$100 and \$50 bills. You ain't never seen no \$50 bills. I did you get that? Some old blood who is high on some juice

had a \$30 coat on and gave you a \$100 bill. He asked if that is good. It's as good as yours. It looks just like yours. What are you talking about it isn't worth ten cents? He's crazy if he tells you that your money that you made and looks just like his is worth less than his because his will burn just like yours would. And if his would burn just as you have, he can't possibly tell you that you can't spend it. What power does he possess to say that your money is no good but mine is good? And so I think that's a desirable condition. I think we should work towards that. And we should print our own money and then when a sister is hungry in the streets and she needs money to feed her family, she can have somebody to go to in the black community and there'll be a Black Panther Party there to say sister, you don't have to be hungry here in our community because we feed our own.

"I don't think the pigs can relate to that and they'll come into the community and try to whip off the printing presses, so you can't get that money. So what we should do, we can't print it, the pigs don't want to give it to us, so that we can build a better society for our people, then we have to do like BOBBY said. We have to go down to Washington with some 357's in our hands and tell that punk in the White House that it's a stick-up. Take it all.

"And them, and then he's going to say to us, what is it you want? We are trying to integrate you into society. You now have five niggers on Wall Street. Five years ago you only had one. That's progress. You now have your own airline hostesses on American Airlines and they're allowed to wear Afros. You're making progress. He'll tell you that you have the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) poverty program going here and all these people who are in the black community, and this is usually the endorsed spokesman, the nigger opportunist, who makes money off of our misery. He takes you to the community talking about look here what we accomplished. We have a vest pocket playground. And while he's doing this he's telling the dope sign, excuse me (rest of sentence unintelligible).

"We don't think we're making no progress. In fact, we think we're getting progressively worse. So when the fool that Moynihan, can say just niggers needs is benign neglect. We realize what Moynihan needs. We know what Moynihan needs. See Moynihan has never had what we call the old, the good . . . (rest of sentence unintelligible). That's what we need. I don't know what you call it here. What's the name right here? That's what it is, let us do \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) with it. That's what we need. (Next sentence unintelligible).

"So we don't think that there's any point of departure between the revolutionary forces here in America and as manifested in black people and progressive white people, revolutionary white people who are willing to take the step and not attack the symbols of racism and Fascism but attack the racists and Fascists, start killing them. Because it's not a building that has black people locked in the delapidated houses. It's not a building that has black people being murdered by police. It is the landlords and the pigs who do that and institute those programs. So we don't have to start blowing up a jail, start blowing up a pig. You see?

"So we don't feel there's any point of departure between the struggle here of black people and the struggle of over two-thirds of the world's population. We can understand and relate to the struggle of the North Vietnamese, the struggle of all the Vietnamese people against the same enemy who we're struggling against. Because when the pig, and none of us don't want to hear that, because we might have brothers and sisters who are over in Vietnam, but I'm, right on, I'm come here to tell you that you are \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible), I'm come to tell you exactly. So we have people over in Vietnam kicking in the doors and huts of the Vietnamese people and dragging them out in the night and beating them and taking their sons away and putting them into concentration camps. They have the relatively same situation as here. When the pigs are coming into our community and murdered FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK. (rest unintelligible) And when they

... go on search and destroy missions and just whip us all, you know. And maybe even checking out down to the minutest detail down to the smallest detail, we see even the equipment they use is the same. The only difference is the uniforms here is blue, brown, beige, uniforms over there are green.

"So we have close ranks with those people over there in Vietnam and whenever they deliver a blow, whenever they deliver a blow against these Fascists here in Washington, whenever they bring about a situation like Khe Son, we have to bring about a similar situation here in Babylon. We have to bring about a similar situation here and they should have to look all over the world, in Korea, in Cambodia, in Laos, in Africa, in Latin America, and everywhere they look they see niggers with guns after them. And we don't feel that them pigs are that bad that they could fight everybody in the world and fight us too. I don't know. I don't know nobody that bad.

"And now that Mao Tse Tung launched a satellite and it's in orbit. Nobody knows what he's got stashed on the side. Everybody knows you don't play all your cards at one time anyway. You see? So, Mao is saying that right on, this 500, 700, 900 now, 800, 800 million Chinese. We are 800 million strong and we have the bombs and the missiles. You're 200 million strong and you got bombs and missiles too. More than enough to destroy the whole world. And what we say here, that they have bombs and missiles and guns but that atomic bomb is nullified (phonetic), is counterfeit, but they're going to drop it on us. They could drop it on themselves and (rest of sentence uninelligible). So, we're saying to Mao and we're saying comrade Lin Li Tung. He told the people of the world it's just a matter of time until his birthday, when his 61st birthday shows up. It's just a matter of time and he's going to advance on South Korea and he's going to kick these Yankees in the rump. And I say to that, that not only should we indulge that, we should institute a program so that all the Yankees in the world will be swimming.

Ah, Tucker, the chief of pigs and he's head hog, Tucker. I see that you have the same problem that we have. You need a barbecue here in Winston-Salem. You know, we meet, we meet, we meet with a lot of problems who come from this area. Up in Harlem, we have a lot of people who come from this area to Harlem and the \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) be on the block and they call it down home barbecue. I could imagine how you do it up down here because if you got these many pigs you got roasting going on for days. So, anytime you have a barbecue going on don't fail to invite us because we dig roast pigs just as well as you do. So, I'm going to close up now.

"I know you have been sitting here a very long time. And it goes to show how enthusiastic you are and we hope we can put this enthusiasm into some concrete action and get out here in the community and create a tight situation that would free us from this oppression. All power to the people.

"I want to tell you something that I forgot to tell you. I just stuck in on the pad. I don't know how many black students are here, but we're giving a student's conference in New Haven, Connecticut starting the sixteenth of May to the nineteenth, which is Malcolm's birthday. And this is going to be so that black students for the Black Panther Party and the black community can get a unity of will of what we're going to do if these Fascists try to reailroad these brothers in New York and try to murder the Connecticut Nine. And our position, the Black Panther Party, is very clear on that issue, that we will go it alone if necessary to cut loose all 28 chapters of the Black Panther Party in the streets of Babylon, and there won't be no life here today.

"So, we want you there, we want you to come and if you can get a bus, if you have to rent a bus coming from here to there, we want you to come because we want everybody to be there and we can hook something that will show these pigs that we ain't jiving. Power to the people."

"So, I feel that it's just a matter of time before the ~~pr~~ errial shit is to fall, before these racists realize that man and land does not struggle for freedom and that the man has never struggled for freedom, but he has struggled against the freedom of the pigs who try to do what they want to do to people. And once they start to realize that there's nothing that we want do to acquire the power to determine our own destiny, once they realize what we're talking about, and only when they realize that is at the end of a gun. Because it's the gun that stops you in the final analysis from doing what you want to do as a human being. It's a gun in this society that negates you and denies you your own humanity.

"It's the gun that perpetuates you living off in these \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) up houses, and have to beg these racists for some food. And got to work on your knees twelve hours a day so his \_\_\_\_\_ (unintelligible) can be clean. You see, and it's the gun that stops you from doing anything to change that condition. And we feel that it's the gun that will move man and the whole world to higher levels. Because only with the gun can we oppose the guns of the racists and the dogs who do what they do.

"We feel that we're at advantage, in advantageous position, because we're likely to be part and parcel of the third war, and we happen to have solidarity with the Latin American people who are struggling against Rockefeller, who are struggling against DuPont and the whole struggle is the same all over the world. It's poor against the rich. It's have-nots against the haves. It's the oppressed class against the oppresser class, and it's black people and people of color against the racist whites. It's as simple as that. So we don't feel there's anything more to talk about.

"I am very overjoyed and happy to come down here to talk to you tonight and I hope that when we leave here that in the very near future we can see a little more unity of action in the whole Winston-Salem community and that we can see black people moving in all matters, in all matters except bootlicking, to get rid of the racist pinkies (phonetic) and reds, Bentons, and who's some other racists around here? I want to curse them out in here.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill 'the pigs everywhere'"

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

5-26-70

Airtel

RC 19] 105-165706-8- 196

1 - Mr.

To: SAC, Charlotte

**From: Director, FBI**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION**

Enclosed are two copies Department of Army letter dated 5-13-70 with enclosures together with two copies Army "Spot Report," undated.

Immediately institute investigation to identify alleged civilian Black Panther Party members involved in activities at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, as set forth in enclosures. Investigation should be aimed at fully identifying individuals as well as scope and objectives of their activities at Ft. Bragg. Handle promptly and furnish Bureau results of investigation under appropriate caption. (

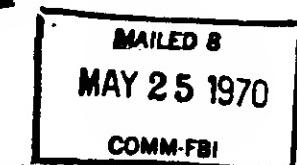
**Enclosures - 4**

HEH:bad (4)

**NOTE:**

Department of Army has furnished reports indicating at least four Black Panther Party members have been active recently at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, attempting to arrange meetings, distribute literature and induce black soldiers to join BPP.

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) Army \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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105-165706-8-196 enclosure

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100-165706-8  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM *J. W. J.* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

DATE: MAY 1, 1970

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

REC-89

REC-89

105-165706-8-195

105-165706-8-195  
JUN 1 1970  
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

59 JUN 9 1970

(5cc)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

#2 4:33p wbf ic

MAY 7 1970

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is calling from Winston-

Salem to let him know that they are moving into the new  
headquarters and their number will be 722-4097.

[REDACTED] says that there is a brown skinned brother 6 foot named  
ANTHONY CAIN there who says that he functioned with the party  
in Brooklyn. [REDACTED] checks with someone here is who is from  
New York. The guy says that CAIN did not function with the  
party but that his brother ALFRED CAIN, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was kicked out of the party. [REDACTED] says to treat him as  
a member of the community only.

EX-02454

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 24 1970

TELETYPE

PLAIN

11:30 PM URGENT 5/24/70 JAB

11

TO DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8  
(ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)  
AND NEW YORK  
FROM CHARLOTTE 157-6171

- BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RACIAL MATTERS.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TODAY.

[REDACTED] CHARLOTTE, CONFIRMED  
INFORMATION AS SET FORTH BY NY T SIXTY SIX, ROBERT BEY AND  
BRAZ BREWER HELD RESERVATIONS NEW YORK TO CHARLOTTE AND RETURNED  
TODAY.

NO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM CHARLOTTE SOURCES OF SUBJECT'S  
INTENDED TRAVEL.

NEW YORK AT NEW YORK, RECONTACT NY T SIXTYSIX AND OTHER  
APPROPRIATE INFORMANTS AND ADVISE REASON FOR TRAVEL.

CHARLOTTE WILL CONTACT APPROPRIATE INFORMANTS.

RFB:

REC-22

105-165706-8-194

114 15 11.10

17 MAY 28 1970

58 JUN 9 1970  
FBI - WASH DC FOR CE 008

CLP

Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_